ABRAHAM LINCOLN

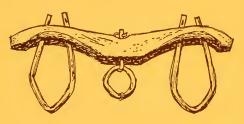
Early Days in Illinois

SHORT

1927

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Abraham Lincoln

Early Days In Illinois

REMINISCENCES OF
DIFFERENT PERSONS
WHO BECAME
EMINENT IN
AMERICAN HISTORY

By I. M. SHORT

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1927

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DEDICATION

To Mr. John Richard Weber, now a resident of Cedar Rapids, Iowa—one who has spoken and written not a little on the life and character of Abraham Lincoln—this volume is respectfully dedicated.

The plentitude of his gray hairs furnish but a scant reminder of the little boy, who at one time during the summer of the year 1860, sat on the knee of the great man to whose memory we are proud to pay tribute in this modest little volume.



A WORD ABOUT OUR AUTHOR

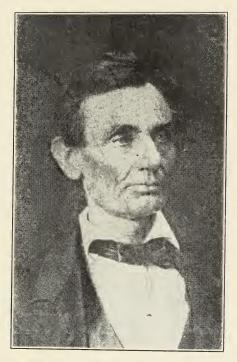
The author is a native of the State of Ohio, being born September 5, 1839, not many miles away from Columbus, and here was spent the earliest part of his childhood. When seven years old, his father moved with his family to Sangamon County, Illinois, settling again on a farm near Springfield, then the new capital of the State. Here he grew up almost to young manhood, receiving the earliest part of his education in the common schools of the State. Later on, he was sent to the academy of a small town where he pursued some of the higher branches of an English education such as are usually taught in such schools. Later on he attended in the State of New York, taking an elective course of study at the Collegiate Institute at Fort Edward, pursuing some of the higher branches such as higher Mathematics, chemistry, and mental philosophy, and still others such as required of teachers in the common schools of most states, including natural history, botany, geology and astronomy. But he came to understand his deficiency, and to become more ambitious in the way of education, and that to be proficient as a teacher, he must know at least something of Greek and Latin. So he changed schools, putting himself under the care of a teacher of a classical school who made a specialty of those languages, and took a course in those two languages alone of a length of two years, after which he entered the regular course of study at Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He was there attending

school the time of the civil war, but when Lee's army came up through the Cumberland valley, and as far as Carlisle, he went home to Springfield, Illinois. Here he remained for a time teaching in this vicinity, and never went back to Dickinson to finish his course of study; but took up a course of architectural drawing, self-taught, and the study of French as a means to help out in the profession which he thought would be more lucrative than the profession of teaching. He formed the idea of going to France in order to familiarize himself with the twist of the French tongue, and went to Paris in 1868, enrolling himself as a learner with the Association Internationale de Professeurs at Rue 332 St. Honore, Paris. When he returned to the States, he followed teaching in the public schools for the period of ten years before dropping that profession, and taking up the other for his life's work.

Our Author has now reached the ripe old age of eighty-eight years, is active physically, and mentally has a rich store of knowledge of life, and experiences covering all these years. It is a joy to know and associate with such a man.

He has led a consistent Christian life, having taken up the banner of the Lowly Nazarene in early manhood.

The Publishers.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN



LINES AND PRAYER

By the Author

O Illinois, O Illinois, The land of grown up men, Whose hands and feet they did employ In busy task e'en then; And stalwart men, and men of toil, Whose interests were alive— The products of a virgin soil— In men who did survive Through hardships dire, virtuous life, As models for mankind, Go woo and win a world from strife. In holy compact bind. We need the men like such today. And men who would be true And never failing see fair play, Men who would dare and do.

PRAYER

Great God "from whom all blessings flow,"
O give us men who go
With fearless step, no evil know,—
Save country from its woe.



PREFACE

HE WRITER of this modest volume has always felt a pride in the fact that he was once a citizen of Springfield than which there is scarcely another city of its size and age in this country which can present a better showing in the galaxy of great men. The sterling worth of some of these have been an inspiration to attempt to give forth some expression of the due regard the writer has felt for them in a few plain and truthful sketches he has brought together. They were not faultless, not perfect, but were true men, live men, whom we knew and loved just as they were, who lived here and went in and out among us. No attempt has been made here to write a book of their lives, but only to bring out from memory either of himself or from others who were familiar with these persons, some of the incidents of their lives, filling in between them from true sources what has been related of them in order to render them real historical characters and to present them whole and recognizable.

So many lives of great men have been written

by those who never knew them, Lincoln, for example, and so much rhetoric thrown around their characteristic features that we do not know them. It is even thus with him. Or, if it be the orator or lecturer on the life of Lincoln, so many flourishes are thrown about him that his characteristic features are spoiled. To send him skyward is to spoil him. Will the writers and speakers leave us the Lincoln we knew and loved with all his faults and inconsistencies?

The early life of Lincoln was faulty, that is, his young manhood life, like others that have lived; but there was a great deal of come out in him when he came to maturer years, and we are not disappointed in him after all, because he had good early religious training which righted itself and asserted itself, and made good in the end. Moreover, he was a self-made man, as also was Douglas and nearly every one else held up to view in these pages. Let every young person who may read this little book, and who, possibly, may have a hard time to rise, or think they have, maintain courage. Honesty, frugality, industry, and carefulness, all have their virtuous reward. The high standards of excellence bring victory in the end.

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CHAPTER I.

Introductory Chapter

HE WRITER desires to present a little bit of the early history of Springfield, Illinois, in these pages, which concerns principally three estimable citizens, one of whom was the joint-editor and proprietor of a newspaper in a very early day; the other two were eminent lawyers who were well-known in the local fame of the place and in the surrounding country, but who later on in life, as the city and country developed, became distinguished in the annals of the history of our country as are few other Americans. The two whom I shall place first upon the list were the most distinguished citizens that Springfield and Illinois ever had, Honorable Stephan A. Douglas, and President Abraham Lincoln, but the third mentioned in connection with them was the editor and proprietor of the first democratic newspaper published at Springfield, and whose name was George R. Weber. It is necessary to say a few words about him before taking up the prominent characters, and to give a little bit of history which lies in the foreground and necessary to the understanding and explanation of what is here desirable to say, and which is not generally wellknown outside of the place, and only by a very few, or at most, a limited number who have lived in or near the confines of the little city, who have survived to this time. Perhaps there are not half a dozen persons now living who will remember the facts which the writer wishes to give, and which concern the three individuals.

The writer of these pages was a small boy during a part of this early period, if indeed he was born. The first start was before his time, and much that occurred was before he can remember; but a little later on, when the most rapid advances were made, he can remember very well, as do most of the young lads who were neighbors then if they be living. Something needs to be said as a sort of background to the picture he would produce of these early days; something in regard to what was visible of the wild and native state of the region in which the little city was placed, which might be termed its environments, for there was nothing else but country in its original state to be seen. He will be pardoned, then, for giving a little personal experience which came within his own observation in this new land before his narrative of folks begins. Just a few words about this will come first.

There were no very good schools or educational advantages of any kind when he first came to the

country—only such as were usually found in the early stages of development almost any where at that period, but they were not long delayed. Yet the people were an honest set of folk and moral. I wonder what our modernists would think were they to be set down in such environments? One thing is sure. They were fresh, and very vigorous; they had good native minds and retentive memories, and very certainly they retained what they heard, read, and learned; they knew how to make good use of the knowledge they had acquired, in after life as opportunity offered.

As to the writer, he was one of a numerous family. The families then were nearly all numerous. My father had emigrated with his family with his effects from Ohio; from the banks of the Scioto river to the banks of the Sangamon. How freely the waters of these rivers flowed! Just like the blood of our young hearts, for we were all strong and very hardy. Everything seemed new to us, and this we enjoyed. I can recollect very well on our way out when we emerged from the wooded country of Indiana into the open prairie land of Illinois—the Grand Prairies they were called, wild and beautiful! I had often heard of them and now I could behold them with my own eyes. What a sight they were to my vision! It never seemed the same after being plowed and cultivated as in the wild and native state. The memories of that time now remind me

in writing of the lines of Bryant, which, when I got older, I committed to memory:

The prairies, I behold them for the first, And my heart swells, while the dilated sight Takes in the encircling vastness. Lo, they stretch, In airy undulations far away, As if the ocean in his gentlest swell, Stood still, with all his rounded billows fixed And motionless forever.

The Grand prairies of Illinois extended across the State from east to west some hundred and fifty miles or more, and from north to south a greater distance still. Clumps of trees and groves dotted the horizon, and limpid streams gleamed in the sunlight where they were not skirted with trees. Altogether in those days, unimproved, the prairies presented a scene of ravishing sweetness and beauty. And that is the way I remember them in their virgin state. This is the place where we came to settle, till the soil, develop and grow up in city and country, and this is the place where men were made, honest, pure men, self-made men, as the sequel of these pages will show.

We arrived in the Fall of the year, spent the winter in the little town of Mechanicsburg, and settled on a partially improved farm in the Spring. For a time we lived in a hewed log house of four rooms, which had two large fire-places, one at each end of the house, and were very comfortable until we could

build a new frame house of three times its size. Our home was located just at the edge of the woods. We had a fractional section of land, half of which was timber and half prairie. Almost all the early settlements were made along the edge of the prairie skirted by the timber land. This gave the advantage of not having to clear up the land to be cultivated and also timber for rails for fencing and firewood. My father's farm was situated nearly midway between Springfield and Decatur, a little nearer the former than the latter place. We were not many miles away from the little "Hanks" farm which was rendered famous a few years afterward by "the rail-splitter of the Republic of the West," as he was sometimes called in England after his name had passed into history. But his fame as a rail-splitter was due not in those early days but years afterward to his coming into political prominence, and when he was about to receive the nomination of a State convention held at Decatur previous to the National convention at Chicago, which nominated him for the Presidency of the United States of America, and on this wise: A relative of his living on this farm loaded on his wagon a couple of old rails which Lincoln is said to have made when he was a young man, hauled them to the convention, and exhibited them to the convention. The "railsplitter" was there in person. He said: "I cannot tell whether I made these rails, but I know I

made a great many rails as good as these." There is no reason to doubt that these rails were genuine rails which he made. None of the neighbors who were familiar with the circumstances ever doubted their being genuinely his.

The wife of the writer of these pages has a small piece of one of these rails which passed into her hands as a keepsake. It was given to her by her father, the newspaper man referred to in the first paragraph of this chapter. He was there attending the convention, the friend of the rail-splitter, accompanied him, and heard what he said. He procured one of the pieces given out. Small pieces have been given off from the original piece since then until but little is left.

As to the Hanks farm, it was located near the present town of Illiopolis, which has been called the geographical center of the great State of Illinois. But we did not value it at this early date on account of the rails which fenced it, some of which Mr. Lincoln no doubt made. It lay several miles away from the little town to the southeast, and over the boundary line which separated Sangamon County from Macon County. That Mr. Lincoln in his early life when he first came to this region lived upon it with his relatives in a log cabin, slept there, mauled rails in the timber which grew upon it, and studied there by the flickering firelight in pursuing the branches of a rudimentary education, becomes

somewhat like a question of archæology, which may make the heart of some people beat a little faster on becoming acquainted with the facts relative to his life. But more anon of the rails and the rail-splitter. This man became in time our most distinguished citizen. Poor Lincoln! How we all pitied him in his sad and untimely taking off, and his tragic end!

There was another thing to be mentioned which usually goes with a new country like this was in its early development, which makes it interesting, and I must not neglect to speak of it here, for it helps to fill out the picture in the foreground. Wild game was very plentiful in these parts at the time of which I speak, deer, wild turkeys, wild geese, wild ducks, brent-geese (just brents for short, we called them) prairie chickens, quails, squirrels, rabbits, and the like. We country lads had varied experiences in hunting these, usually with good success. There is nothing that quite equals the feverish heat of the young hunter like killing a deer, or which stirs the blood to such a pitch. Nearly all hunting was done at this time with the rifle. Give me the rifle and the "crack shot." There is something noble in the willingness to give the game a chance for life, rather than to seek to slaughter it wholesale "just for fun" as was done years later upon the plains with the buffalo.

It seems also necessary to say a foreword about

Springfield before taking up any of the characters who lived there about whom we shall have something to relate further on. Springfield was situated on the prairie not a great way from the timber line, and near a small stream called Spring Creek on which was built a flour mill and a saw mill which kept running most of the year. Springfield became the new capital of the State, having been moved from Vandalia. It was built upon low, level ground almost a frog pond at first. It was a thriving little city when I first knew it, of about four thousand inhabitants. Its citizens have always been a thorough-going, honest class of people, willing to live and let live. It has now grown to be a pretty inland city of nearly seventy thousand souls. It is built in a good style of architecture, and it contains many handsome churches and business buildings. It is noted for its shady streets and many pretty residences.

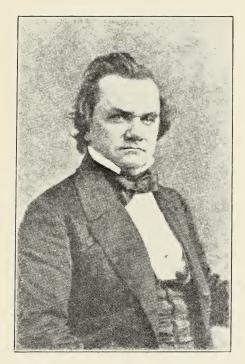
I remember well the first time I was there, being attracted, as a small boy, by the new State House scarcely completed, and by the low two-wheel long-tail drays drawn by one horse. Being the capital of the State, it attracted many of the legal fraternity who sought patronage, many of whom became eminent politicians. It became, consequently, well known throughout the State for its leading jurists, much more, perhaps, than any city in the State in an early day. Judge Douglas, Judge Logan, Judge

Treat, General Shields, Abraham Lincoln, E. D. Baker, John T. Stuart, Ben Edwards, and Ninian Edwards, besides many others, settled there; and later on, S. M. Cullom and John M. Palmer made it their home, while Richard J. Ogelsby was a familiar person upon the streets. Five of these gentlemen became United States senators while they lived there, and two after they lived elsewhere; three were congressmen, and one was president of the United States. Besides these, there were many not so widely known, but familiar personages in these parts, who became distinguished, holding high official positions in the State or in the National government.

Nearly all the above mentioned persons were lawyers, and were men of ability in their profession, practicing in their own county court and in the adjoining counties included in the judicial circuit presided over by the same judge. Many of them travelled around the judicial circuit in their own private conveyances in the early days of the history of the country. There is no need to exagerate the ability of any of these jurists, or to detract from the reputation of others by holding these up to view. The writer as a boy knew most of these, not intimately, but reasonably well, and others who practiced in the courts embraced in the judicial circuit. Lawyers and doctors as well as other professional men were not so plentiful as now, and we knew men by reputation far and near. There were not so many engaged in sharp practice in the law as now, and we had a profound respect for them. Many of these became politicians, however, to the neglect of the practice of the law, not always having the will or inclination to stick to the latter as closely as is necessary.

I am now about ready to say something of the persons whom I have mentioned in the first part of this chapter, and I shall now take them up, and hold them up to view while we consider some of the phases of their character, and some of the happenings in their history which brought them into public notice. The first, then, to be considered, will be Mr. George R. Weber, the newspaper editor and publisher.

Briefly, Mr. Weber was a native of Maryland, having been born in Baltimore. He was of Dutch origin, a humbler citizen than either of the others, as to fame, but well born, and not in the least behind them in industry and the honest integrity of his character. He was, like the others, a self-made man with a good native mind, a wonderful memory, pure-hearted, and "tender as a woman;" capable of writing a good editorial for a newspaper, using clear, concise language, and quite capable of making a good stump speech, or of addressing a Sabbath-school. He knew thoroughly the tricks of politicians.



STEPHEII A. DOUGLAS



He learned the printing business in the Atlantic states, and partly in New York City where he worked for some time on the New York Journal of Commerce. He was older than the other gentlemen with whom he has been associated on the first page of this chapter, was an intimate friend of both in their early struggle to rise, and survived them both by quite a number of years. At the time of his death which was in his eighty-sixth year, he was said to be the oldest newspaper man in the State of Illinois. From his own published correspondence, entitled Reminiscences of Early Times in Springfield, it is learned he settled in Springfield in the Spring of 1835, from Virginia. He says: "The country was sparsely settled, and by an honest and industrious people. The houses of that day have nearly all disappeared, to make room for others; and but few of the early business men of thirty-six years ago, at this present writing remain. A new city has been built, and another generation of inhabitants throng our streets, and dwell in fine houses and spacious mansions. The few old settlers who were active then, belong to a generation that has passed away."

He further states in these "Reminiscences" that there were two newspapers published at Springfield at that early day; one of which was the Sangamo Journal, published by Simeon Francis and Brother; the other was the Illinois Republican, the Democratic newspaper mentioned already in these notes, established by himself and Mr. Walters his partner, in the printing business in May, 1835. The name of the former, the organ of the Whig party, was changed to the Illinois State Journal; the name of the other paper published was changed to the Illinois State Register. The latter was done when Mr. Charles Lanphier became the proprietor and editor of it. The Sangamo Journal was some years the senior of the Illinois Republican. Both papers are still published under their later names.

Mr. Weber goes on to say in his "Reminiscences" what will be of interest to some people: "The State was divided into three Congressional Districts. Sangamon County and all the territory north, including the villages of Chicago and Galena, was included in the third Congressional District. Mr. Lincoln was then a young man and somewhat prominent as a young politician, awkward, and unpolished, but good hearted and popular.

From notes of Mr. Weber in the hands of his family, it is learned that he was in the Nauvoo war against the Mormons, which resulted in their expulsion from the State of Illinois. He held a commission in that war signed by Governor Thomas Ford, which gave him the rank of Major. He was at times in command of the anti-Mormon forces in this war. Mr. Weber was also a soldier in the early part of the Mexican war. He enlisted as a private in a company made up in Springfield and in the county

adjacent thereto, commanded by captain Roberts, which company helped to make up the regiment of Colonel E. D. Baker, from this part of the state. His partner in business having died, it became necessary for Mr. Weber to return. The firm held a contract with the State as public printers to the State, and this rendered Mr. Weber a State officer requiring his return in order to look after the affairs of the office. The matter of publishing their newspaper, together with the public printing, had been left in the hands of Mr. Charles Lanphier while the partners of the business were absent.

I have before me two letters to Mr. Weber bearing upon this matter; one from Governor Ford, bearing the date of July 31st, 1846, and the other of the same date from one Mr. Brayman, in which the former was inclosed. I give here an extract from the latter: "I write to inform you of the death of Mr. Walters, and to suggest the necessity of your immediate return, you being now sole public printer, and the officer in whose name the business must be carried on. The death of Mr. Walters, of course, terminates the agency of Mr. Lanphier, who has no further authority to act in matters of an official character. Unless you return, it will be necessary for you to appoint an agent to act or resign. either case your various interests connected with the office and establishment of public printer cannot be secured. I presume that Colonel Baker and Captain Roberts will cheerfully dismiss you from the service. I enclose you a letter from Governor Ford to Colonel Baker in aid of this object.

Here is Governor Ford's letter relative to Mr. Weber:

Executive Department. Springfield, Illinois, July 31st, 1846.

Colonel E. D. Baker,

Dear Sir:

I regret to inform you of the death of William Walters, Esq. late volunteer with you in the present war. Mr. Walters was one of the public printers of this State, In Company with George R. Weber, Esq., who is now a private in the Company of Captain Roberts under your command. The decease of Mr. Walters renders it necessary that Mr. Weber should return in order that the affairs of the office may be placed in proper position.

Should Mr. Weber, therefore, apply either for a discharge from service, or for a furlough, you will confer a favor by granting it and oblige,

Yours, THOMAS FORD.

We are now about ready to take up and give a bit of the early history of some of the events which occurred in the developments of the little city which became the capital of the great State of Illinois, and which has grown to considerable proportions in all that goes to make up a modern city. It is not our purpose to give here a chronological epitome of the history of the place, but only to state a few of the facts and incidents which connect together some of the great men as they were dependent upon each other, and which are not familiar to the general reader, even to those who are living in the place. There are happenings which may not be familiar but to a few, for those who will remember them as told by the preceding generation are becoming fewer year by year. Indeed those whose names are given in a group together on a foregoing page of this chapter are all dead, and those who knew even them personally and their children, many of them, are nearly all gone.

CHAPTER II

Douglas and Weber

S MR. DOUGLAS came into prominence sooner than Mr. Lincoln, it will be quite necessary to take up his part in the early history of Springfield first, and to speak about some of the events which led up to his early development, and which contributed in making him what he afterward became, the most illustrious senator of Illinois, and in the latter days of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, taking rank with them in many respects, and especially as an able debater and statesman. Mr. Douglas was a native of Vermont, and was born in the town of Brandon. He came to Illinois when he was a young man and made that State his home, growing up with the country. Mr. Douglas once said: "Vermont was a good State in which to be born, but that one needed to emigrate West pretty soon." There once hung a cartoon picture of Vermont in the office of a small hotel in a little town in that state where the writer stopped for some time.

and it represented the State as a personified woman,

in a state of chastisement, and in a pretty precarious situation. She was administering a few spanks on the most vulnerable part of his breeches, saying meanwhile, Stephen, you have been a bad boy ever since you had anything to do with that Missouri Compromise business. It was even as she said, and I have always remembered it.

When Mr. Douglas came to the region of Springfield and adjoining counties, he stopped for a time in Winchester and in Jacksonville, and later in Springfield where he made his home quite a number of years. Mr. Douglas spoke of his early life in Illinois, in his joint discussion with Mr. Lincoln in 1858, at Ottawa, and in connection with Mr. Lincoln, the latter being present on the platform. He said: "I have known him [Mr. Lincoln] for twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got acquainted. We were both comparatively boys, and both struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school teacher in the town of Winchester, and he a flourishing grocery keeper in the town of Salem. He was more successful in his occupation than I was in mine, and hence more fortunate in this world's goods. Lincoln is one of those peculiar men who perform with admirable skill everything which they undertake. I made as good a school teacher as I could, and when a cabinet maker, I made good bedsteads and tables, although my old boss said I succeeded

better with bureaus, and secretaries than with anything else; but I believe that Lincoln was more successful than I, for his business enabled him to get into the Legislature. I met him there, however, and had a sympathy with him, because of the uphill struggle we both had in life. He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as now. He could beat any of the boys wrestling, or running a footrace, in pitching quoits or tossing a copper. I sympathized with him because he was struggling with difficulties, and so was I. Mr. Lincoln served with me in the Legislature in 1836, when we both retired, and he subsided, or became submerged, and was lost sight of as a public man for years. In 1846 when Wilmot introduced his celebrated proviso, and the Abolition tornado swept the country, Lincoln turned up as a member of Congress from the Sangamon district. I was then in the Senate of the United States and was glad to welcome my old friend and companion."

In his speech answering Mr. Douglas, Mr. Lincoln in correcting Mr. Douglas, denied that he had been a grocery keeper, and in this particular, said that the Judge was mistaken. The charge in reference to Lincoln, which I have suppressed and which was only made *pour rire*, he also modified. But, after all, there was a grain of truth in the statement of Mr. Douglas when the facts of the early life of Mr. Lincoln are all known.

But now let us turn away from this statement of Mr. Douglas to his own early history at Springfield. Here I wish to consult Mr. Weber's Reminiscences again, for some of the events very nearly concern him. "Mr. Douglas was appointed Registrar of the Land Office at Springfield by President Van Buren, in the Spring of 1837, and thus became a citizen of Springfield. He was a representative from Morgan County in the Legislature, at the time of his appointment. Mr. Douglas was boyish in his appearance, and somewhat in his manner; was a ready writer, and a fluent and bold speaker. He made politics his chief study, to the neglect of his profession. He wrote considerably for the columns of the Illinois Republican, which appeared both as editorial and communicated. The paper in political circles, was regarded as the organ of young Douglas."

And now I wish to prepare the way for the introduction of a little episode which renders this early history a little more spicy and interesting, more so than it would otherwise be without the part which Judge Douglas took and of which he mainly was the cause. In the year 1835-6, the Legislature passed a law for the removal of the capital of the State from Vandalia to Springfield. This was largely the work of the "long nine" who were all tall men, among whom was Abraham Lincoln, not much above the rest in point of stature. I give here the names

of these: Abraham Lincoln, Ninian Edwards, John Dawson, Andrew McCormic, Daniel Stone, William F. Elkins, Robert T. Wilson, Job Fletcher, and Archer Herndon. A number of towns came up for consideration, even Illiopolis, the geographic centre of the state, although no town existed at this point at that time (Herndon and Wick's Life of Lincoln.) The commissioners were appointed to superintend the building of a new State Capitol building of which Doctor Henry was the acting Commissioner. Mr. Weber says of him that he was an able political writer and contributed largely to the columns of the Sangamo Journal both politically and otherwise. Hence the newspaper fights of that early day between the Journal and the Republican were mainly between Douglas and Doctor Henry, as the champion writers of the political parties.

Mr. Weber in his Reminiscences gives some of the particulars of a little political quarrel which occurred at this early date, which became for a short time quite a serious matter. I transcribe here from his notes: "Douglas, in several anonymous communications, attacked Doctor Henry, as acting State House Commissioner, denouncing him with much bitterness, as being unqualified for his position, and burlesquing many of his official acts; and advising the Governor to remove him for incompetency, and appoint a practical builder—a mechanic or architect,

as doctors and lawyers knew but little about building state houses."

"Doctor Henry and many of his friends, believing Douglas to be the author of the offensive articles, determined to demand the name of the author, by calling on the editor. A committee was appointed for the purpose which, armed with canes and pistols, waited upon the editor (until then supposed to be a meek man), and made the demand." Douglas had gotten wind of it, and came to the office to give warning. He was sitting there when the committee "The demand was made with threats and a flourish of the cane, when the meek man of the press planted his fist in the face of the chairman of the committee, informing him at the same time that he was responsible for everything that appeared in his paper. The committee was thus dispersed. Douglas being an eye witness to the disastrous defeat of the committee, gave a highly colored description of what had occurred in the next issue of the paper, which, when the paper appeared, resulted in a determination of certain aggrieved parties to destroy the printing establishment of the Illinois Republican.

"On the evening of the next day which was the 27th of June, 1837, while the editor and his employees were away at supper, a mob appeared before the office door which was locked. The leader of the mob, who was the sheriff of the county, being on a 'spree', picked up a stick of cord-wood and with

it burst open the door, and ordered the men into the printing office and throw the printing material into

the street, promising to pay all damages."

The Weber brothers by some means got word of what was going on, and were soon in the midst of the scene. There were three of them, Douglas, and one, Doctor Early, a fine gentleman (afterward assassinated), and a few others. The Webers were equal to the emergency. There was not a drop of cowardice blood in their veins; pure minded and fearless for that which was right, and for that which was their own. They went in, and would have done so if the door had been lined with demons and devils. They kicked and flung the mob-crats from the building in short order. This day's work had a funny ending, but the next day was more serious, for the mob rallied, and as Mr. Weber and a younger brother* walked down the street from the printing establishment to the first cross-street, the mob closed in upon them. The sheriff, whose name was Elkins, struck Mr. Weber, the editor, from behind, with a loaded whip-stalk, and felled him to the ground; the other brother of these two was attacked by one, a Doctor Merryman, said to be the "bully" of Springfield, with a great flourish of his arms and fists. This brother was not a pugilist nor used to the ways of pugilism; but squaring himself very much as a ram or as a billy-goat gets ready for a fray, he came head first at his assailant, butted him John B. Weber.

in the stomach, and knocked him down, after which he proceeded to give him a good drubbing. Just at this juncture of the fight, the third Weber brother,* who was on a visit from Maryland, came along and joined in the fight. Seeing the one brother had been knocked senseless, and the other engaged in the fight, he whipped out his pocket knife, and plunged it into the back of the sheriff who, fainting, fell covered with blood, and was carried home. ended the fight of the mob. This brother who was younger than either of the others, came upon the scene of the fight just at the opportune time to gain the fight, and quell the mob. He was arraigned, however, before the court, and Mr. Douglas defended him, making a masterly plea which cleared him. These happenings gave notoriety to the paper And the spicy and able articles of Douglas as editorials and communications, like pure and good democratic seed sown in good ground resulted in the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas for Congress by the Democratic party of the third Congressional district. His opponent was Honorable John T. Stuart, a gentleman of talent and excellent moral character—the Whig candidate.

This was a hotly contested campaign, and was bitter and exciting. Mr. Douglas distinguished himself very much in his encounters with Mr. Stuart, Baker, Lincoln, and others, on the stump. Mr. Douglas was defeated, but only by a very small matagoob Weber.

jority, and he achieved the name of the "little Giant" in this campaign. It placed him at the head of the Democratic party, and paved the way for greater honors in the State, which came thick and fast.

The causes which contributed to his success were various, and they followed in such rapid succession they now seem in looking over them to have been fortuitous in his making. Let us run over them in rapid review. Born in Brandon, Vermont, in 1813, he came west when quite a young man; taught school for a time after he came: he continued in the meantime the study of law which he had already begun, and commenced the practice of law in Jacksonville in 1834. He was attorney general of the State that same year, and in 1835, he became a member of the legislature. He was secretary of State in Illinois in 1840, and judge of the Supreme Court in Illinois in 1841. From 1843 to 1846, he was a member of Congress, and from 1846 to 1860, he was a United States senator. In 1860, he was a candidate for the presidency of the United States, representing the Popular Sovereignty wing of the Democratic party, the other wing going over to John C. Breckinridge. By means of this split in the Democratic party, Mr. Lincoln was elected president of the United States. It was a rapid stride. Honors could not well come faster.

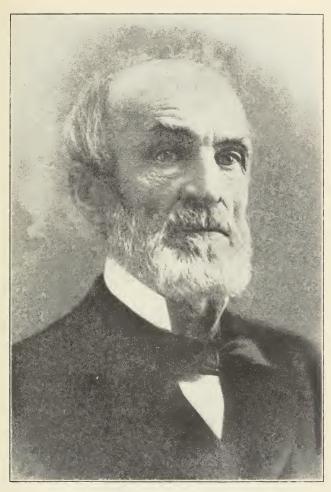
But Mr. Douglas, as a self-made man, and the greatest senator that the State of Illinois has ever

had, perhaps, is deserving of a little more extended account than is given him in the above rapid sketch. He was of good American Revolutionary stock, his grandfather having been a soldier under General Washington, and was present with him at Valley Forge and at Yorktown. His father was a physician, and settled at Brandon, Vermont, where Mr. Douglas was born, and he died while the child was an infant. Mr. Douglas received the principal part of his education in the common schools of his native State up to the time he was fifteen years of age. He showed an aptitude and perseverance for an extended course at college, but the family was too poor to undergo the expense.

He apprenticed himself to a cabinet-maker to learn the business. He applied himself at this business for nearly two years at the end of which time he gave it up, and returned to his studies in an academy at Brandon. But the family did not remain long in Brandon after this period. Indeed the next year they moved to Canandaigua, New York, where Mr. Douglas pursued the study of law in the law office of one Mr. Hubble. By this time he arrived at the age of twenty years, and set out for the West, determined to embark in the practice of law. On his way out, he stopped at numerous cities, including Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis, to see if they were proper places for him to locate. He pulled up,

however, in the State of Illinois where he established himself permanently.

Douglas was a very ardent and resolute young man, possessed of rare reasoning powers, destined to attain pre-eminence among his fellows. Arriving in Illinois, he first taught school in Winchester where he had forty pupils, still giving his energies to the study of law. He was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the State, and immediately entered upon the practice of the legal profession in Jacksonville, the Athens of the West. By sheer destiny he seemed to drift into political life, and before he was twenty-two years of age, he was elected by the Legislative Assembly, Attorney-Genral of the State against the distinguished competitor, the Honorable John J. Hardin. The next year, 1836, he was elected by a Democratic vote a member of the Legislature. The next year after this, he received the appointment from President Van Buren of Registrar of the Land Office at Springfield, and the same year, was candidate of the Democratic party for Congress, and he would have been elected had not a few votes on which his name was mispelled, been thrown out, which gave a majority of five out of more than forty thousand votes cast. to Mr. John T. Stuart, the Whig candidate. He pursued, meanwhile, his profession of the practice of law, and eagerly entered into the canvass for Van Buren in the presidential campaign which re-



GEORGE R. WEBER



sulted in the election of General William Henry Harrison. From this time forward, he arose in political prominence in Illinois very fast. He was appointed Secretary of State in 1840, and the next year he was elected by the Legislature a judge of the Supreme Court at the age of 27, discharging the duties of that office for two years or until 1843, when he was elected to Congress. He was re-elected to that office in 1844, and in 1846, and at the expiration of that term of office, the Legislature elected him Senator of the United States for the full term of six years. He was twice re-elected to the same office, terminated only with his death. The last time was the celebrated and hotly contested campaign of 1858, in which his competitor was Abraham Lincoln. Had there not been a Douglas there would not have been a Lincoln President of the United States.

The joint discussion which they had in Illinois in 1858, over the senatorship, while the election resulted in the defeat of the latter for that office, brought out the greatness of Mr. Lincoln, and gave such color to his fame that by it he became the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and was elected.

But the joint discussion, how did it come to take place? It had a history which I shall now relate. The fact is, Judge Douglas was the best advertised man in the state of which he was, doubtlessly, the

widest known Senator that Illinois has ever had, occupying as has often been asserted, a larger share of public attention than any other American Senator. Of Lincoln at the time he made the challenge to Douglas, there cannot be said nearly so much, and he knew this right well. He was not inferior, possibly, in debate, or in the quality of his mind, and this Douglas, too, knew right well. But he had not been so long nor so well tested. The Democrats were especially bitter towards Lincoln for following Douglas around and contesting every inch of ground, availing himself of the advertisement which Douglas gave him. This charge nettled Lincoln as did also a certain other feature of the campaign which we will presently give. We who were living on the ground often heard such charges during the campaign. Lincoln did follow Douglas around to a great extent, but this was not always his fault. One thing is sure, and both Douglas and Lincoln realized the fact which is this: the acceptance of the challenge by Douglas made it possible for us to know the Lincoln as we have today, and it should not seem surprising to learn that he (Douglas), hesitated momentarily and said to certain friends:

"Between you and me, I do not want to go into the debate. The whole country knows me, and has me measured. Lincoln, as regards myself, is comparatively unknown, and if he gets the best of this debate—and I want to say that he is the ablest man the Republicans have got—I shall lose everything. Should I win, I shall gain but little. I do not want to go into a debate with Lincoln."*

The other feature. Whoever would read these debates, will scarcely fail to notice that throughout the speeches of Douglas much of his time was devoted to Judge Trumbull, who had been denominated a "veritable thorn in the side of Douglas. So much of the Douglas attention and newspaper comment became centered upon Trumbull that Lincoln considered himself ignored and without delay, he sought to counteract that influence by securing a series of joint debates with Douglas.";

The newspapers took up the matter when the correspondence was given to the press, and a general explosion took place and in a variety of ways. The writer remembers it well, but not the exact words of the verbiage to give any of it. However, it afforded some degree of amusement to those who lived on the farm, and was an occasion, to some of us young lads, of laughter at some of the witty things that were sometimes said. I give in full in a subsequent chapter the correspondence which followed Mr. Lincoln's letter of challenge to the joint debate.

^{*} Mr. Stevens in his Life of Douglas.

CHAPTER III

Abraham Lincoln

E NOW turn away from considering Mr. Douglas, a wonderful man in many respects, in order to take up another; a greater and more wonderful man still, Mr. Lincoln, save as it becomes necessary to speak of him further in connection with the latter in anything we may have to say about the early stages of his development where the two men were brought together in contrast with each other in any relation, or as partisans. Lincoln! Honest and upright, simple and truehearted, "Honest Old Abe," as he was sometimes called during the great campaign with Douglas,the friend of the weak and defenceless,-how shall we approach his record or say anything about him that has not already been said? Have not the historians ransacked all the sources of information in relation to him, searched diligently every letter of his, and listened to his every saying told them, to find out something new to relate? His public life is well known, and a few anecdotes remain among his friends at home which have not been told, only a few more facts in the reminiscences of him by his friends are left to be gathered up. Great Lincoln! the man of great destiny, fitted and prepared of Providence to fill the place he occupied during the

dark days of civil strife when men's hearts were failing them! How shall we say more? Yet his friends at home knew him best, and one man in particular among them all, has given the truest account of him, his law-partner, Mr. Herndon, who commenced a true life of Lincoln, getting far advanced in his work, but later on abandoned it as an inopportune time for such an undertaking, declaring that after the assassination of the president, the public mind was in such a state it would not bear the whole truth about him to be told. Now the public state of mind has somewhat subsided, and a more just estimate of Lincoln may be given. His manuscript notes and letters gathered, Mr. Herndon turned over to other hands; but he wrote other notes and he had other letters afterwards which he did not turn over, or give out. The true and unbiased life of Mr. Lincoln is yet to be written.

Lincoln was a son of the South, it may be claimed by some, as to his nativity, of obscure parentage, of Kentuckian origin, and of a state which remained neutral throughout the civil strife. His true sources have filtered through little by little until the truth about his origin has become known. Mr. Lincoln's ancestry runs back into Virginia. His grandfather, whose name was Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Virginia to Jefferson County, Kentucky about 1780. Lincoln's father's name was Thomas Lincoln, and his mother's name was Nancy

Hanks* before she was married. They were married the 12th of June, 1806. The person who performed the marriage ceremony was a Methodist minister, the Rev. Jesse Head, who left a marriage certificate in the records of Washington County, Kentucky. President Lincoln had a sister older than himself, whose name was Sarah, and she was born February 10th, 1807. Abraham Lincoln, the subject of this sketch, was born February 12th, 1809. When his mother died, Mrs. Nancy [Hanks] Lincoln, he had for his stepmother, Mrs. Sarah Bush Johnston who was born December 13th, 1788, and who was living in Kentucky. She had been the sweetheart of Mr. Thomas Lincoln when both were young; so, when his first wife died, the father, scarcely a year afterward, sought her again in her home in Kentucky. She was a widow, and was living there. He went to see her December 1st, and they were married December 7th, 1819. Herndon and Weik, in their work upon the "Life of President Lincoln," have this to say of them: "Their courtship was short. He said to her, Miss Johns-

^{*} There is a difference in this record in Herndon and Weiks work on the Life of President Lincoln and another in possession of the writer, furnished him by the Rev. Charles T. Alexander, D.D. a Baptist minister, in regard to the maiden name of Mr. Lincoln's mother. The latter reads thus: "Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hicks were married by a Methodist minister by the name of Jesse Head." This document is from a more recently discovered source; probably an error in transcribing the name from the church record, or from the spelling of the name by the recording secretary of the church record, or still by careless printing of the name in a newspaper from which it was taken. Farther on, when I come to speak of the religious bias of Mr. Lincoln's life, or his early bringing up, I shall give this crude document verbatim in its entirety. It is valuable as respects the religious life of the family of Mr. Lincoln's father.

ton, I have no wife and you have no husband. I came a-purpose to marry you. I knowed you from a gal, and you knowed me from a boy. I've no time to lose; and if you're willin', let it be done straight off.' She replied that she could not marry him right off, as she had some little debts which she wanted to pay first. He replied, "Give me the list of them." He got the list and paid them that evening.

We learn from this same authoritative work on the life of President Lincoln, that a four horse wagon load of housekeeping goods was carted off to the home in Indiana. We learn from the same work on the authority of Dennis and John Hanks, the former being known to the writer, that Mr. Lincoln's sister Sarah was married to one, Aaron Grigsby, Spencer County, Indiana, in the month of August, 1826, and that she died January 20th, 1828. She, with her brother, went to school together when very young in Kentucky, she being only seven years old, but that their father moved away with them to Indiana before she had finished her ninth year.

The writer in his boyhood knew Mr. Lincoln, but not when Mr. Lincoln was a young man. The period in which he knew him was later in life, and when Mr. Lincoln's public life became better known throughout the country and throughout the state. When he first became known to Springfield folk, his reputation was by no means enviable, but there

was a great deal of "come out" in him, and men here developed fast. None of the young ladies of that time thought him a very gallant beau, however, and none liked to dance with him, neither is it reported that he was regarded as very entertaining in his conversation by the fair sex.

He was a lawyer by profession, and of limited education. Even after he received the nomination for the presidency, especially in the remote Eastern states, and more especially in New England, there was somewhat of doubt as to whether he would be at all able to write an inaugural address and more especially a creditable state-paper. The writer during his stay in Vermont, which was at the period of the first part of his campaign for the presidency, was asked more than once in regard to this. Yet he proved quite capable of either, and his memorial address on the battlefield of Gettysburg, without an hour's preparation, has gone down in history, in point of style, simplicity, and as an example of pure English, as a classic.

Of humble birth and from the ranks of the common people, single-handed and alone, without wealth or education, he arose to the summit of power and dignity, the highest his countrymen could confer. How was he enabled to do this? Everything in form and outward expression would seem to be against him. First of all, it must be conceded, there was nothing to mark him out or to distinguish him above his fellows—only the opposite of this.

It has often been asked of those who knew him well as intimate neighbors and friends, if there was anything before the great joint discussion between himself and Senator Douglas, which had very greatly distinguished him above and beyond others of his friends at Springfield, or of the state, who had held responsible position of public trust, or who had sought to do so? It must be answered that there was not. And yet when this is done, the answer should be with every kind of reserve; for, there were instances in his life before this period when he was able to launch forth jets of brilliancy which truly betrayed symptoms of a great, powerful and inerrant mind. This was in 1854, when he was candidate for the United States senatorship against General Shields,* his old duelling antagonist, and when the whole question of slavery came up for review, being a time which afforded an opportunity for arousing the latent energies within him, and for the display of eloquence. Lincoln was thoroughly aroused, and was equal to the emergency. The writer, although a boy in his "teens," remembers this campaign well. The whole question of slavery was then debated. There were three or four

^{*} It may be well to give a word of explanation of this difficulty. Mr. Lincoln had written and published some sort of scurrilous letter in the Sangamon Journal against James Shields, a Democratic politician, under an anonymous signature. Other letters followed under the same signature written by Lincoln's sweetheart, Miss Mary Todd, and her friend, Miss Julia Jayne. Shields was furious. Lincoln to shield the ladies, took the blame upon himself. What was meant for fun came near being a serious matter. Shields challenged Lincoln fight a duel, and Lincoln accepted, choosing "broad swords." They met upon the ground to fight, but friends to both men met with them to intercede not to fight, and prevailed.

years in this period. It was always Lincoln's fortune, whether considered good or bad, during all his greatest efforts in political life, to be pitted against Douglas in debate. Both men were politicians, and they usually locked horns, whether in literary clubs and lyceums in their early days in Springfield, in the State Legislature, or elsewhere. Whatever there was in his early life in Springfield of aberration of mind, it was now effectually effaced, and he rose to the full height of his manly dignity that defied all his competitors.

Lincoln was an anomaly in himself, an enigma to many, difficult of explanation. He was not a bookworm, that is to say, not a reader of many books. Whence, then, his knowledge, and by what means was he enabled to grapple and engage with his great opponents such as Douglas and others, and to maintain the equilibrium of a great discussion, showing himself up in the arts of a great debater and the habits of a well disciplined mind? This would seem to result from his power to originate ideas in some sort of spontaneous way in modes of thought and expression all his own, rather than as an imitator; or, if the latter, he had learned how to assimilate all he had heard, felt and known through the thoughts of others, classifying and arranging the impressions that came to him until they became as it were, all his own original reflections. Let us look at him in his habits in his own home town of Springfield, and view him in progress of development, being made

ready when the crucial period came which was to make him the uppermost man of his age among all his countrymen.

In the view we shall take of him, we will pass over silently most of his early life, especially that part which was spent on the farm in Macon county making rails to fence it although later on we shall have something to say on his fame as a railsplitter. Nor yet do we wish to say much upon that part of his life spent at New Salem; that part has been told often enough to be familiar to most persons who have read the various books which have been written of Lincoln's life. But we do wish to mention some of the events and incidents in the experineces of his early history in his home town among his friends at Springfield, which endeared him to them and which affected him greatly and worked to his interest and to his fame.

It might be a proper thing to do, if the writer were intending to make a brief sketch of the life of Lincoln, to speak of him somewhat in chronological order as a private man, as a public man, as a lawyer, and as a politician. But this he is not endeavoring to do,—only to give a reminiscence of him made out from personal recollection of the man, and his knowledge derived from what has been told him by others who were intimate with him, and who were his friends. Yet it will be necessary to give some points in his life coming under

the above heads, but not always in the foregoing order.

From what we know of Lincoln, his political record began before he commenced the practice of law, or before he made much headway in his profession. This is due, it may be supposed, to his association with members of the bar while he was in the legislature, or at least in part, that he formed the design of the practice of law. Indeed, while he was a clerk in a store at New Salem, he felt stirred by a power within him working out the problem of his early education, and he would borrow books of a lawyer, reading them at night and returning them the next morning. It is perhaps due to his first law partner, Mr. John T. Stuart, more than to any other source or influence, who was associated with him during the Black Hawk War,* he being a good and reputable lawyer, lending him books and prevailing on him to come to Springfield to live. So that, it is said, Lincoln rode to Springfield about the first of the year 1837, on a borrowed horse, with a pair of saddle bags in which there were a few books and a few pieces of clothing, in order to make the new capital of the state his home. The store of Mr. Joshua Speed became his headquarters. Mr. Stuart took him into part-* Mr. Lincoln was Captain in this war, and Mr. Stuart was a Major serving with him. In relation to this, Mr. Joseph Fort Newton in his work entitled Lincoln and Herndon, quotes in a footnote this passage from the Life of Jefferson Davis, by his wife: "Then a tall, gawky, slabsided young man, dressed in a suit of blue jeans, presented himself as captain of a company of recruits, and was sworn in service by Jefferson Davis." A strange coincidence when we think of the future record of these two men. nership, the name of the firm becoming Stuart and Lincoln.

Both partners were members of the legislature, and served during the term of that year. That year proved an exciting one for Mr. Stuart who was the opposing candidate of Mr. Douglas and defeated him for Congress. Mr. Lincoln being thus early a fully equipped politician, knew the tricks of such a profession thoroughly, no doubt, and served his partner with consummate skill, it being a congenial part of the business with him. Mr. Newton in his work on Lincoln and Herndon makes the following remark on this feature: "A kind of industry congenial to him, which was, no doubt, one reason why Stuart chose him as managing clerk. He knew how to play the game of politics according to the rules thereof, and was not over nice as to the method when no moral principle was involved."

The next year also, 1838, he was re-elected to the Assembly, in which campaign he made a complete canvass of the entire country. And in 1839, Mr. Stuart was re-elected to Congress. Consequently, Lincoln was a very busy man, having almost the entire business of the firm including both law and politics. In April, 1841, the firm of Stuart and Lincoln was dissolved, for some reason unknown to the writer. Before the year was out, however, a new firm was formed with Mr. Lincoln as Junior partner under the name of Logan and Lincoln, the junior partner being taken in by Stephen T. Logan

formerly judge of the Circuit Court of the State, a man who has borne the reputation of being the ablest jurist Springfield ever had. The two men were in strange contrast with each other. He was personally known to the writer. He was a small, thin, dried-up looking man, thin in the face and with reddish features. His hair usually worn long, was of light color, and his voice was sharp and shrill, yet not disagreeable. The men could scarcely have been more opposite in looks than in the character and natural quality of their make-up. Both men were careless in the attention they paid to dress, which varied in the two, and both gentlemen were rather pleasant and agreeable, but unlike in their manners.

By profession, Logan was a hair-splitter in points of the law as notorious in local fame as was the junior partner as a rail-splitter, whose fame as such later spread near and far. Logan loved money and made it. Lincoln did not care for it, only for its use, neither did he make much of it. Logan cared for the law. Lincoln did not, only as a means to an end—his living. There is no need to carry this contrast further, nor to describe the personal appearance of Lincoln. His height, his gait, his manner of life, and the like, have all been held up to view, and everything like this has become known. Many at Springfield wondered why Logan took him up,—they were so different. In two points they agreed: both were Whigs, and both were anxious for politi-

cal position. The niceties in points of the law as a ruling characteristic of Logan was good schooling for Lincoln. It was during the term of his partnership of Logan and Lincoln that Mr. Herndon took up the study of law in their office, being induced to do so through the instrumentality of Lincoln whose firm friend and future partner he became.

But the partnership of Logan and Lincoln was not of long duration, scarcely two and a half years. There had been a little friction between them owing to their political aspirations for Congressional honors, and two strong natures like theirs could not very well be yoked permanently together. Nevertheless, their disagreement did not preclude a friendly rivalry, and they remained friends. This was demonstrated more than ten years afterward, in 1854, when Lincoln was the political aspirant for the United States senatorship against General Shields. This year he and Judge Logan were elected to the legislature to represent Sangamon county; but Lincoln resigned from the Legislature in order to become a candidate for the senatorship. He would have won the place but for the insurgent Democrats who persisted in voting for Judge Trumbull, a sturdy Democrat on every issue, save the slavery issue. The excitement was intense, and after the tenth ballot, rather than see a man re-elected who had voted for the Nebraska bill in the United States Senate as General Shields had done, Lincoln admonished his friends to withdraw his name, and

vote for Lyman Trumbull, which they did, and Trumbull was elected. It is said of Judge Logan that he actually shed tears as he transferred his vote. There are more times than one, twice, or thrice, that Lincoln stood aside to give place for others, though not always when it was a question for political pre-This illustrates his true character, and vindicates him from any charge of selfishness, exhibiting his devotion to the cause for which he stood in the righteousness of principle.

We come back to the firm of Logan and Lincoln. It was dissolved more on account of financial reasons than perhaps any thing else. It was said that Lincoln was desirous of setting up for himself, and when the opportunity offered of entering into a partnership with himself as senior member of a firm, and with William H. Herndon as junior member, a young man in whom he had every confidence, he made a proposition to the latter, which was accepted. So, on the twentieth day of September, 1843, the firm of Logan and Lincoln was dissolved, and the new firm of Lincoln and Herndon was established, which endured for more than twenty-one years, or until terminated by the assassination and death of the President.

Mr. Herndon, notwithstanding all that has been said against him by some of the biographical writers of the life of Lincoln, and their names are legion, all the "strange mixtures and complexities," his "impetuosity and impulsiveness," his "uncouth and rough" exterior, was an abler man, more generous towards the memory of his friend and senior partner, than he got credit for. One does not inspire a great mind like Lincoln without having some merit. He was always honest, sincere and loyal, and Lincoln never had cause to regret the business arrangement he that day went into. Lincoln took him in on equal terms with himself financially, the gains of their earnings being divided equally between them. Years afterward, in speaking of this day's arrangement, Mr. Herndon had this to say: "It has always been a matter of pride with me that during our partnership, continuing on until it was dissolved by the bullet of the assassin Booth, we never had any personal controversy or disagreement. I never stood in his way for public honors or office, and I believe we understood each other perfectly. In after years, when he became more prominent, and our practice grew to respectable proportions, other ambitious practitioners undertook to supplant me in the partnership. One of the latter more zealous than wise, charged that I was in a certain way weakening the influence of the firm. I am flattered to know that Lincoln turned on the last named individual with the retort, "I know my own business, I reckon. I know Billy Herndon better than anybody, and even if what you say of him is true, I intend to stick to him." That retort sounds like Lincoln, and is characteristic of what we know of him, and worthy of the man.

We have followed Mr. Lincoln loosely and in a few rapid statements concerning his public career from the time he first began to come into public notice, attracting considerable attention in his own state as a legislator until the time of his membership in Congress, when he returned at the expiration of his term, having been duly elected to serve his congressional district in 1846, against Rev. Peter Cartwright. I feel that I must here make a break in this narrative to give a bit of information which will be of interest to many Methodists. I did not know, until I began to gather materials and make notes for these memoirs, that Peter Cartwright ever had any political aspirations, and I do not think many of the denomination of Methodists have known this. In 1846, he was the Democratic candidate for Congress against Abraham Lincoln in the Third Congressional District, and waxed warm in his oratorical fervor, but was defeated by a sweeping victory by his opponent. I have in my collection of books, two of his books, his autobiography, and his "Fifty Years a Presiding Elder," and in neither of these does he say anything about this matter. I have already stated in these reminiscences that my father's family moved into Sangamon county from Ohio, and that the first winter we lived in the little town of Mechanicsburg. This was in the year of 1846, the same year that Peter Cartwright was making a race against Abraham Lincoln, and was beaten. He was our presiding elder that year, and

stayed 'with my father's family while there on his official relation to the church.

I return to my narrative to speak of Mr. Lincoln. In the period embraced between the year 1846, and the year 1854, we do not hear very much about him, after his term in Congress had expired. It was a period out of which he emerged in great brilliancy and power, a great formative period, and of marvelous transformation. It was during this period that he was given back to his own country folk in his home at Springfield and Sangamon county, where he applied himself diligently to the practice of law, following the rounds of the circuit rider after Judge Davis in his judical circuit. The ground work of the foundation of his greatness and popularity, however, was laid in a period anterior to this in which figured quite a number of self-made men among whom even Douglas himself appeared. This period we refer to was in the early days in Springfield. They called each other "boys," then. Douglas pleasantly alludes to some of the scenes which took place in these early days, in his speech at Ottawa, but got them mixed up a little with those of earlier date. He says of Lincoln, "He could beat any of the boys wrestling, or running a footrace, pitching quoits, or flipping a copper." In the matter of running a footrace, Douglas would not have been a match for Lincoln's long legs pitched against the short Yankee jumpers of the former.

Douglas forgot to speak of the other "boys" even a little later in life, in a game of "Town Ball" in which Lincoln and some of the other lesser boys, in a mix-up together, when law business was a little dull, and they needed a little exercise. I know men now living at this period of writing, who used to watch them play together, yet who were too small to take part in the games.

Then, too, the young folk used to form themselves into literary and debating clubs for self-improvement in which many took part. Those whose names have appeared in these chapters already, used to be among the number who were invited to make addresses before these societies, notably, Lincoln, Shields, and others. The Young Men's Lyceum, and the Mechanics' Union were two of these societies, and to their public meetings all were invited. I have before me some published extracts from the minutes of the Mechanics' Union from the day of its organization, August 14th, 1839, to the day of its close, January 4th, 1848. The extracts of which the writer avails himself, were made from the minutes of the secretary's book which was quite worn, by Mr. T. W. S. Kidd and published by him in his Springfield Morning Monitor, January 6th, 1898. He published a partial list of the members of the society, and one of the most active members of the society whose name appears on the minutes, was George R. Weber, printer who is one of the three persons concerning which these pages are written. Mr. Lincoln's name appears twice on these minutes. In the minutes of March 5th, 1840, this record appears: "The charter incorporating the Union was then presented and read. George R. Weber moved that the Union present Mr. A. Lincoln a vote of thanks for the passage of the act of incorporation." Again in the minutes of July 8th, 1841, there is the following record: "On motion of W. D. Herndon, Abraham Lincoln, Esq., was elected as the individual to address the Union on the fourth Thursday of the present month, and on motion, a committee of three was appointed to wait on Mr. Lincoln and solicit the favor of an address from him on that evening." No subsequent page of the minutes, says Mr. Kidd, shows that Mr. Lincoln ever performed the service asked. General James Shields is another gentleman who was asked to deliver an address before the society, and who favored them with its delivery in the Methodist church on the evening of November 8th, 1841. A copy of his address was obtained and published in both the city papers. One other address was given before the society,—that of Col. Zebriskey- and was also published in the same papers. The record says that the Young Men's Lyceum people were invited to attend this lecture. It is thus that the young people as well as the older people availed themselves of the opportunity to attend and encourage such exercises as a means of self-improvement. It is certain that Lincoln encouraged such efforts, and that he gave addresses before these meetings of the young people one of which—that before the Young Men's Lyceum—brought him into favorable repute in the confines of his own home, the subject being suggested by the burning of a negro by a mob in St. Louis.

But these days were not the earliest of such efforts. Lincoln, Logan, Baker, Douglas, and others, all of whom were self-made men, were accustomed to meet together, and discuss the questions of the day, and especially political questions. All the above named persons are especially worthy of being held up to view as illustrious examples in their endeavors to rise. Every one of these became eminent in their day in their field of operation as lawyers, or as politicians, holding positions in the state or national government. These men were possessed. naturally, of good minds which needed cultivation. and these meetings around at the shops and stores afforded the means of self-improvement as they paired off taking opposite sides and vied with each other as disputants. This exercise in the things of the mind rendered them practical, rough and ready, so that in after life when called upon to express themselves on the various subjects before them, they always had something to say without any fear of a break-down.

I will give an example of one or two of these

meetings to fill in here, and which will be of interest to many, possibly, and which have been related by Mr. Herndon, who was an eye witness. He was the best informed person on the early young-man life of Lincoln, without doubt, and is one who has furnished the biographers with more of the early life of the man than any other person. Many of these meetings which took place in the early history of Springfield, were at Mr. Joshua Speed's store it being a frequent lounging place for the young men who gathered around the comfortable fireplace, and were made welcome by the proprietor of the establishment in these early rural days, seated around the fire upon boxes, benches, and nail kegs covered with boards or shoe leather. It was a place of good schooling for them, and made so, doubtless, by this bachelor merchant at this period of his life. Here they liked to gather and have their little discussions, read prepared papers, and do their little literary acrobatic feats.

One evening, eight or ten of these young men gathered thus about the fireplace, and their discussion turned upon politics. As it proceeded, it grew warm with excitement, Democrats against the Whigs. Finally, in the midst of this state of excitement, Douglas sprang to his feet, and challenged the Whigs to debate the question or questions between them, alleging that the store was not a fit place to talk politics. The challenge was accepted, and the

discussion was arranged to take place in the old Presbyterian church. Accordingly, they paired off, four on a side in the following order: Democrats, Douglas, J. C. Calhoun, Josiah Lamborn, and Jesse Thomas; Whigs, Stephen T. Logan, E. D. Baker, O. H. Browning, and Abraham Lincoln. One evening was allowed to each disputant, and it consumed more than a week to complete the discussion. Other discussions followed similar to this, one of which was by Lincoln and Calhoun on the tariff question in the same manner, and which was held in the court house. In view of what all these men became, this seems strange.

I must not forget to state one characteristic, at least, of Mr. Lincoln, before closing this chapter. He was a good story-teller. I remember well my father speaking of him as such. While out from Ohio in Illinois in 1846, viewing the country previous to moving there the autumn of that year, he had occasion to go in a stage coach or in a hack from Springfield to Taylorville, which was the county seat of Christian county. The vehicle was filled with lawyers mainly, going there to attend court. It was a jolly crowd, among whom, it appears, were Judge Linder, then a young man, Judge Logan, Abraham Lincoln, and others. It was a warm day in June, and they sweltered with the heat as they rode along the way through the brushy woods of the south fork of the Sangamon River. But they

entertained themselves the most of the time in a roar of laughter in a hearty, go-lucky manner. Lincoln was the best of the lot, enriching his jokes and his stories with the pithness of his puns and the embellishments of his anecdotes.

But there was also the sober side to some of his stories. Mr. Ed. Thayer, Springfield's old bachelor dry-goods merchant, used to tell a story coming from Lincoln, which he said was a true one. It concerned the occasion of the birth of one of his children, I think the oldest. Mr. Thaver, who was familiar with the conditions of the story, relates that he met Mr. Lincoln who was on his way to church one Sunday morning, and they talked together. Mr. Lincoln said: "Well, the affair is all over, and both mother and child are doing well. I may consider myself fortunate in this matter Only think of it. If the child had been born with a long leg like mine and a short one like Mary's, what an awful thing that would have been! But everything is all right, and I am fortunate that nothing like that happened."

CHAPTER IV

More About Lincoln

S A JURIST, it should be said, Mr. Lincoln was not learned, but he was very honorable and able, nevertheless; a very safe lawyer in whom to confide for legal advice, and to whom to entrust a cause to be conducted through all the stages of a process at law. It seems to me as I remember him and his legal associates, there were more conscientious scruples as to what cases they undertook to defend in the courts then than now. They were loathe to take up the cases of clients who had committed very flagrant crimes, and where it seemed very plainly the duty of lawyers, for the good of society, was to endeavor to allow the law to take its course. There was little resort to "sharp practice" in order to obstruct the energy of the law from having its full force with incorrigible culprits. Money consideration with Mr. Lincoln was not a motive strong enough to induce him to violate his ideas of intergrity where moral principle was concerned. These were the days before attorney's

fees became so fabulously large and court expenses so great as at present through long drawn out processes, postponements, changes of venue, errors, etc., until the patience of the people was worn out and the cases dropped out, owing to the many obstructions permitted by the judges. It was still before the days of specialists who are resourceful in technicalities and loop holes of the law, which are now oftentimes allowed to defeat the ends of justice.

What else shall we say of him as a lawyer? Not much, for we have not long to praise him without extending our notes beyond a reasonable limit. A few characteristics more will suffice, and these from his associate friends who were members of the bar. What do they say of him? This: He was very clear in stating a case before a jury, was searching in his examination of witnesses, and courteous unless he detected evidence of untruthfulness, when he would become almost merciless. He was forceful and sagacious in his pleadings before a jury, quick to take the different phases in his mind, and trusted his memory in the matter of evidence, developing his case from facts, and when it turned upon moral issues, he is said to have been "one of the most persuasive advocates at the bar." It was this moral sentiment, a characteristic feature of Mr. Lincoln, long pent up within him, striving for outward vent and expression, which though ordinarily a mild man, broke out in irresistable fury against

Douglas in the period from 1854 and 1856 to 1858, occasioned first by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, then by the attempt to foist the Nebraska Bill upon the people west of the State of Missouri, and finally by the Dred Scott Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

This brings us to a very near approach to Mr. Lincoln's religious convictions. The moral element in his make-up was deep-seated, and this came very naturally from very early training and the early example of his parents, as well as other early religious environments. We shall presently give the proof of these statements in the effect upon him in his maturer years when the crucial tests came upon him. How beautifully true is the admonition of the Word which was written long, long ago: "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old. he will not depart from it." This is true in almost every case which has come under the writer's observation, and he has lived long enough in life's experiences to take knowledge of many facts. rule may not be invariable, but it is true in most cases. If he were required to instance an example, he does not remember a case to which he would rather refer than that of Abraham Lincoln. writer had thought to pass over silently that feature of his record at his home in Springfield, but so various have been the religious views expressed about him, he has thought to say something upon

it. Whatever else may be said about Mr. Lincoln on the matter of his religious belief, up to the time he left Springfield to go to Washington to become the President of the United States, this may be said: He was not a deeply religious man in the sense of piety. I use the latter word in the good sense of the term, sanctity, holiness, deeply religious devotion to God, and not in any loose sense, as patriotism, love of country, respect for law and order, or ordinary morals such as any good citizen may have before touching the realm of the religious in a spiritual sense. The Springfield folk who knew him best, never have reported him as having a mind of this order. He never united with any church up to the time he left Springfield. While he attended church services, and contributed to the support of the church, and to other good causes, he was not known to be deeply religious, not after the New Testament sense, certainly, and not certainly an orthodox member of any Christian body. One may have a rich natural endowment of the moral qualities of mind, as did Mr. Lincoln, but fall far below the standard held up to view in the Sacred Book, as most men do, even those who have won a very high place in the estimation of mankind

Mr. Lincoln has been a man difficult to explain, whether in regard to his mental, his moral, or his religious make-up. It is needless to endeavor to do this, but it is needful just to let him stand as he was,

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with all his contradictions, if we consider his entire record with his good and inestimable qualities, or without, a man very much by himself, natural throughout, raised up, possibly, of God, to fill in his proper place at a time when such as he was needed. Far be it from the writer to drop a word here about him which in any way could cast a shadow about his fair memory; rather would he stand in the relation of friendliness to his good name, and as one who loves his memory. But the truth needs to be told even about him, however, much we may venerate his memory, and however much we may be impressed in sympathy on account of the strange freak of his taking off by the bullet of the assassin. To tell the truth about him can do his memory no harm, and the truth is that his record has some inconsistencies, one part of it truly at variance with another part. The record of his early manhood before he came to Springfield, reveals the fact that he was a deist if not a fatalist, and opposed to miracles, and consequently, lacking in an orthodox faith. In the campaign of Peter Cartwright against Abraham Lincoln, in 1846, the former assailed the latter for his infidelity, alleging that he had written a paper attacking the Christian religion after the manner of Thomas Paine. This was in the period of his life during his stay at New Salem. I quote the note for my authority for this statement given by Rev. Joseph Fort Newton in his work on Lincoln

and Herndon: "Such an essay was written by Lincoln in his early days, while under the spell of Volney, Paine, and other thinkers of that school, in which he argued that the Bible was not inspired and that Jesus was not the Son of God. He carried it to the village store, where it was read and freely discussed; but his employer, Samuel Hill, snatched the manuscript out of his hands and put it into the stove."—Abraham Lincoln, by Herndon and Weik, Vol. II, pp. 149-151. It is fitting to add here what is reported of him later in life: "A change came over him, and that, after this, he was no more the same." Later still in life, he became subject to a greater change of belief, adopting many of the sayings of the Saviour, and made use of some of them in his political discussion which could not be shaken. That one from the Gospel of Mark, is a notable instance of one which he used against Douglas in his Springfield speech, June 17th, 1858, relative to a "house if divided against itself, it cannot stand," applying it to the nonperpetuity of our government existing half slave and half free. The passage from the Scriptures in the use he made of it, has a place in his record which we shall give later on when we come to its historical setting. Here is what his biographers have given, which he said about himself concerning his religious belief at this period: "I have never united myself to any church, because I have found difficulty in giving my assent, without mental reservation, to the long complicated statements of Christian doctrine which characterize their Articles of Belief and confessions of faith. When any church will inscribe over its altar, as the sole qualification of membership, the Saviour's condensed statement of the substance of the Gospel, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself,' that church will I join with all my heart, soul and mind'

I think that change became his final experience. If, after the death of his son, Willie, he came into this experience, in consequence, that death, possibly, became a stepping stone into a better and brighter life. If so, it was the smighting stroke of the Spirit which broke the fetters of that power which had bound him so long in its slavery, and made him a free man. It was the worthy and merciful accompaniment when, in signing his name to the document of emancipation proclamation, he broke the shackles of millions in slavery, and by a stroke of his pen set them free. It is well if that experience could not come to him earlier that it came later.

I have already spoken in this chapter of the deepseated moral principle of Mr. Lincoln, and asserted it to be owing to the early religious training of his parents in his early life. I am in possession of an old record which clears up much of the mystery of the early religious training of Abraham Lincoln.

which has remained for more than half a century. It is a record, or I should say a transcription of an old record made by Mr. McGregor in the finding of two church record books which were more than one hundred years old, and which were hid away in the archives of Little Pigeon Baptist Church near Lincoln City, Indiana. Mr. McGregor, who was assistant Attorney General of the State of Kentucky, has given to appreciative America substantial evidence that Abraham Lincoln was reared by his parents in the simple faith of the "hard shell" Baptist Church. There is no record, however, of his affiliation with any church denomination. This record proves conclusively that the Lincoln family were Baptists. Here is what Mr. McGregor says: "The parents of Abraham Lincoln deserve a fairer estimate than has been given them by most of the biographers of Lincoln; and the story as told by the records that are still to be found in the archives of Little Pigeon Church, near Lincoln City, Spender [?] County, Ind., of the devotion paid by the parents of Lincoln to Him who guided the lad of Pigeon Creek in the hour of the Nation's travail, goes far to give their true estimate. In fact, they were well-todo pioneers of their day; of sturdy ancestral stock, and owned a farm, domestic animals, tools, and a family Bible; neighborly, sacrificing and active church-going members.

"Pigeon Creek Church was founded on June 8th,

1816, the year that Thomas Lincoln and his family moved from Kentucky and settled on Pigeon Creek, in what was then Warrick county, Indiana Territory. It was then, as now, the chief church in that vicinity. When the meeting house was built its site was selected about a mile west of Thomas Lincoln's home, the church building today occupying practically the same place. When Lincoln's mother died she was buried between their home and the church, the graveyard not having been at that time started at the church, but when Lincoln's sister, Sarah Grigsby, died in 1828, she was buried at the church burying ground, where her grave is yet to be seen, marked by a rough stone.

This church, with its continuous existence since 1816, has only two books containing its records and minutes; the first covering the period from 1816 to 1840. It is in this book that we find Abraham's father and step-mother and sister were active members of the Hardshell Baptist Church of Pigeon Creek, and this book with its deer skin cover, the hair still remaining, not only reveals in its crude historic way the true religion of Lincoln's parents, but gives us the best insight yet found to his own religious views.

"Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married by a Methodist minister by the name of Jesse Head, but shortly afterward they were united with one of the churches of the Baptist Licking Locust Association of Regular Baptist churches in Kentucky, and when Nancy Lincoln died in Indiana, Abraham, by his own efforts, had their Kentucky Pastor, Elder David Elkins, come to their wilderness home and preach his mothers funeral.

"After Thomas Lincoln had married Sally Bush Johnson, he sent back to his Kentucky church and obtained his letter of fellowship, and the minutes on June 1, 1823, show he united with the Pigeon Creek church by this letter, his wife by experience. From that date until they moved to Illinois in 1830, their names appear frequently in the minutes of the church proceedings, Thomas being one of the pillars of the church, acting as moderator, on committees to investigate the conduct of brethren and sisters, and messenger to association, bearing the letter of Pigeon Creek to her sister churches."

I give here the historic minutes which Mr. Mc-Gregor furnishes, the wording and spelling just as I find in his transcription, which, as far as he has given, must be like that in the original:

"June 7th, 1823.

The church met and after prayer proceeded to business.

First—Inquires for fellowship.

Second—Invited members of sister churches to seats with us.

Third—Opened a dore for the reception of members.

Fourth—Received Brother Thomas Linkhon by letter * * *

Seventh—Received Brother John Wire by relation and Sister Linkhon and Thomas Carter by experience.

"Thomas Lincoln was not in such poor circumstances but that he always donated to the needs of the church," said Mr. McGregor in offering the copy of an agreement to build a new chimney on the meeting house.

"We the undersigned do agree one with another to pay the several somes next our names in produce this Fall to be delivered betwixt the first and 20th of December, the produce, as follows, corn, wheat, whiskey, soft linen, wool or any other article or material to do the work with, the produce will be delivered at Wm. Barkers in good mercantile produce."

Signed with other names is:

Thomas Lincoln, white corn manufactured—pounds—24. "Thus," continued Mr. McGregor, "we have revealed to us the religion of Abraham Lincoln's parents, his sister, Sarah, and of himself. He was raised in the simple hard shelled faith, which in after years never left him.

"We have no record of Thomas Lincoln or wife ever uniting with any church after they moved to Illinois in 1830."

The writer does not design saying anything fur-

ther in this place on the phases of Mr. Lincoln's religious views. In an appendix to this treatise will be found other materials and a deeper and more extended research on the question of the moral aspects of his religion such as were known to the citizens of Springfield, especially his most familiar friends. So far, only a general statement has been given of this feature of his moral make-up in this and preceding chapters. But curiosity may be far reaching, and may be difficult to satisfy. such he would invite to the perusal of the notes in the appendix for the proofs of the author's statements made in his estimation of this great man. But Mr. Lincoln had a variety of traits in the moral status of his character which is somewhat difficult to understand; vet here is one element which is pleasing to contemplate, and with which we desire to close this chapter. He loved that which was natural, which was pure and good, and which had within it the cheer of Joy and Hope. There was something within him, after all that may be said, which responded to the needs of the soul, and he looked beyond himself in its appeal to be satisfied and be brought into contentment. As proof and illustration of what is here meant, I give a little incident of his life related by Mr. Herndon. This incident will be found as told in the Appleton edition of the Life of Lincoln by Herndon and Weik, 1906, Vol. I, pp 321, 322. It is in regard to the "poem"

or song that Lincoln "liked." I give the incident and song as there found. Mr. Herndon Says:

"He once told me of a song a young lady had sung in his hearing at a time when he was laboring under some dejection of spirits. The lines struck his fancy, and although he did not know the singer-having heard her from the side walk as he passed her house—he sent her a request to write the lines out for him. Within a day or two he came into the office, carrying in his hand a delicately perfumed envelope which bore the address, "Mr Lincoln-Present," in an unmistakable female hand. In it written on gilt-edged paper, were the lines of the song. The plaintive strain of the piece and its melancholy sentiment struck a responsive chord in a heart already filled with gloom and sorrow. Though ill-adapted to dissipate one's depression, something about it charmed Lincoln, and he read and re-read it with increasing relish. I had forgotten the circumstance until recently, when, in going over some old papers and letters turned over to me by Mr. Lincoln, I ran across the manuscript, and the incident was brought vividly to my mind. The envelope, still retaining a faint reminder of the perfumed scent given it thirty years before, bore the laconic endorsement, "Poem-I like this," in the hand writing of Mr. Lincoln. Unfortunately no name accompanied the manuscript, and unless the lady on seeing this chooses to make herself known.

we shall probably not learn who the singer was. The composition is headed, "The Enquiry." I leave to my musical friends to render it into song. The following are the lines:

"Tell me, ye Winged Winds,
That round my pathway roar,
Do ye not know some spot
Where mortals weep no more;
Some lone and pleasant vale
Some valley in the West,
Where, free from toil and pain
The weary soul may rest?
The loud wind dwindled to a whisper low
And sighed for pity as it answered, no.

"Tell me, thou Mighty Deep,
Whose billows round me play,
Know'st thou some favored spot,
Some island far away,
Where weary man may find
The bliss for which he sighs;
Where sorrow never lives
And friendship never dies?
The loud waves rolling in perpetual flow
Stopped for awhile and sighed to answer, no.

"And thou, serenest Moon
That with such holy face
Dost look upon the Earth
Asleep in Nights' embrace —
Tell me, in all thy round
Hast thou not seen some spot
Where miserable man
Might find a happier lot?
Behind a cloud the moon withdrew in woe,
And a voice sweet but sad responded, no.

"Tell me, my secret Soul,
Oh, tell me, Hope and Faith,
Is there no resting place
From sorrow, sin and death?
Is there no happy spot
Where mortal may be blessed,
Where Grief may find a balm
And weariness a rest?
Faith, Hope, and Love, best boon to mortals given,
Waved their bright wings and whispered,
'Yes; in Heaven."

In a foot note beneath the poem, Mr. Herndon says: "Persons familiar with literature will recognize this as a poem written by Charles Mackay, an English writer who represented a London newspaper in the United States during the Rebellion as its war correspondent. It was set to music as a chant, and as such was frequently rendered in public by the famous Hutchinson family of singers. I doubt if Mr. Lincoln ever knew who wrote it."

CHAPTER V

Early Days in Illinois

Lincoln and Douglas

N THE foregoing chapter that point in Mr. Lincoln's life was reached when it becomes necessary to speak of him as a changed man—

not alone in the sense of his religious sentiment which had received a change,—but as being thoroughly aroused by what he saw going on in the political world around him. It is a good place to begin to speak of him, farther, in his political life in the period reaching from 1850 to 1854 or later on, and when he had reached the essential age of the full vigor of his manhood. It was a short period, but very fruitful in many respects, and when the excitement in Illinois was beginning to be intense.

We have spoken rather incidentally of Mr. Lincoln, rehearsing a few facts in the great formative period of his life, viewing him getting ready for action. Here we have him when, like a chrysalis, he has burst the shell, and broken away a fully grown man, thoroughly aroused from a state of inaction

to one of great brilliancy and power, which made itself felt. The questions of that day rendered it so. There were the questions first of temperance and "know-nothingism," which absorbed interest for a time—Mr. Lincoln canvassing and making speeches in favor of the former topic in his own county and in those which were contiguous; but they were tame enough in comparison with what followed later on—the question of slavery, the questions of the Missouri Compromise and its repeal, the Fugitive slave law, and the Dred Scott decision,—all of which agitated the public mind and set the country all on fire.

The period of 1850 to 1852 opened with the giants wrestling with the great problem which threatened to rend the nation asunder; the voices of union and disunion "clashed and echoed far and wide" over the nation. At length the trouble was fixed up, and the country was thought to be secure in its peace. It was by the enactment of the Missouri Compromise. It was the great triumphant but short-lived work of Henry Clay. Also the domestic slave trade was prohibited in the District of Columbia, which lent encouragement to the peace of the country. The old measure which was in force still for the benefit of the pro-slavery men, it was thought would now compel the country to maintain peace, as it was thought none would dare interfere in the affairs of the law—the Fugitive Slave

law, whose majesty all would respect, since it was the law. Altogether, it was accounted a great stroke of statesmanship which would forever settle the perpetuity of the Union and the peace of the land with the institution of slavery shut up within it. But not so. The Fugitive slave law was "cruel, merciless and stringent."* It aroused the abolition sentiment of the North, and many felt that although a law of the land, they could not respect it nor obey it. So that by the time of the campaign of 1852, in which there were the two old parties still in the field, the Whigs and the Democrats, lined up against each other, the former under General Scott and the latter under Franklin Pierce, they both felt themselves muzzled by the Slave power, and courting the Southern vote, while insisting in their platforms that the compact of 1850 was final, and that the Fugitive Slave law must be obeyed. Such conditions could not be permanent.

It was about this period, also, that Douglas came into great brilliancy and power. He was an able debater, taking front rank in the Senate, and finally became the great champion. This he maintained from 1850 to 1860, when the question of slavery came up for consideration. Douglas himself seemed not to have had any conscientious scruples as to the moral wrong of slavery. He was ambitious for his own popularity, and to this end bent all his energies, insisting upon the institution of slavery.

* Joseph Fort Newton in his work, Lincoln and Herndon.

because it was the law of the land, which he had been instrumental in making, or at least was responsible for helping to bring around existing conditions in regard to it. Douglas did not himself originate the measure of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, yet he was responsible more than any man for the undoing of the compact, and thereby became the instrument which precipitated the Civil Knowingly or unknowingly, it was iniquitous piece of business, and when once into it, he was by force of being leader, drawn still deeper into it, and carried whither he would not. He saw, perhaps, his fatal error, but only when it was too late for remedy, and his political doom was sealed; but being an adroit man, he tried to justify himself by an appeal to his "popular sovereignty" scheme which in the end utterly failed. When put to the test in Kansas, popular sovereignty proved only "squatter sovereignty." There was a rush across the border line of Missouri into Kansas into tents, improvised sheds, and hovels—anywhere that the pro-slavery men could "squat" themselves in order to defeat the actual free-loving, bonafide citizens knocking for admission into the Union as a free state, now alas! with Congress no longer any power to interfere and prevent it from becoming a slave state. The memory of these times and events are still fresh in the minds of a few people yet living.

The history of the entrance of Kansas into the

Union is largely a history of "rump legislatures," "fraudulent constitutions," "outrages at the poles," and tragedies from which even Douglas himself revolted. It is not a history of these events that is here intended to be written, but to give enough of the happenings to get the matter of those times fairly well before the mind as the causes of a rude awakening throughout the North against Proslavery sentiments and pro-slavery schemes. When the Kansas-Nebraska bill was introduced by the insane slave-holding interests of a few men of the South, not the best men among them, the violence between the North and the South became intense; it threatened to disrupt the two sections of the country even at that time. It was the "irrepressible conflict destined to rage with increasing force," says Mr. Newton energetically, "until slavery was destroyed in the flames kindled by its own folly."* Illinois was stirred more than any State in the North. perhaps, owing to the fact that it was the home of Senator Douglas who was the champion leader of the movement. Then and there began to form a movement in order to resist the attempt of the South to seize and enslave Kansas, and party of men arose known as the "Free-soil party," "Anti-Nebraska men," and the like; but in other states, they were known from the start as Republicans. In Illinois, there were many discordant elements. Men there did not like to be called Aboli-In his book, Lincoln and Herndon,

tionists, as it was a term much in disfavor, Lincoln was one of these. He was not an abolitionist, but he had a hatred of slavery and of the "popular sovereignty" dogma of Douglas. He resolved to oppose it with all his might. In his hours of seclusion he had studied all the issues of his day, which affected his country, and from every angle and viewpoint until he was thoroughly informed on the subject. When he emerged from his period of seclusion, he was a changed man, completely equipped, and he launched forth against Douglas his great argument in "tongues and flashes of fire."* In the start, Lincoln argued for the restoration of the Compromise, but when the Dred Scott decision was announced, every forlorn hope was swept aside, and he measured arms with Judge Douglas in every legal, political and moral aspects of those issues.

His good work began in his home town of Springfield. He started out from the first with the great thought burning in his heart, ". This nation cannot exist half slave and half free," and from this basis he never changed nor deviated. Although after this start he did remain quiet for a time, with his feelings pent up within him often striving to break out in irresistible utterance. But, as he himself said, he bit his lips, stifled his feelings, while he jotted down his notes, "stowing them away in his hat," according to Mr. Herndon, some of which In his book, Lincoln and Herndon.

have been preserved, "showing with what keen and merciless logic he went to the bottom of things."

Douglas was very popular in his home state of Illinois, and rushed all his own campaigns and others in which he was interested, with a furor. In the campaign of 1854, he stumped the state for General Shields, whose opponent was Mr. Lincoln, and he found the latter thoroughly prepared for a rencounter. In the early part of the Fall of that year, Douglas was at Springfield attending the State Fair, and he made a great speech in the Statehouse. The two men locked horns. It was the beginning of a great discussion which lasted for five years, and terminating in their Joint Discussion in 1858. On that occasion Douglas spoke in the forenoon, consuming nearly all that length of time before a large audience. This was the beginning of his great argument in defense of the Nebraska Bill, and the gist of his argument for that bill lay in the fallacy of his assumption that property in slaves did not vary from other kinds of property. Douglas, ordinarily was a fluent speaker, and he delivered his address with much warmth, energy and charm. carrying many of his audience to his side of the question by his resort to the "Popular Sovereignty" scheme, and he succeeded in swaying them into a belief in its plausibility.

The next day in the afternoon in the same place, Lincoln addressed a reply to Douglas before a

large audience, also, for above the space of three hours. This address has been pronounced a masterpiece of work, put together in such manner as to be impregnable, carrying away the people as by storm. He had been silent a long time, but now he had spoken. People who lived in Springfield were proud of their distinguished citizen. They felt that a new star had indeed arisen in the political firmament. He dealt with the question of slavery unlike many abolitionists in not depicting its cruelties and horrors, but confined himself to its legal aspects, not forgetting its moral issues; and when it came to the dogma of Douglas, he drove his shafts home, piercing it through and through, turning it over from every side until nothing remained. Douglas was amazed. He sat only a short distance in front of the speaker while the latter dealt with his entire speech delivered the previous day in a most complete and merciless exposure. It is said that Douglas felt most keenly his epigrams, occasionally interrupting him only to receive his sharp retorts with a readiness that surprised and delighted his auditors. Lincoln gained a complete victory and was greeted by thunders of applause. This first speech was never reported, but numerous comments were made upon it. I cannot refrain from giving the comments of Horace White upon this speech. His delivery, gesticulations, and manner of oratory would not have been preserved to future generations but

for him, although it may be he has somewhat overdrawn Mr. Lincoln in some of his features of oratory. Here follows what he said: "He began in a slow and hesitating manner, but without any mistakes of language, dates or facts. It was evident that he had mastered his subject, that he knew what he was going to say, and that he knew he was right. He had a thin, high-pitched, falsetto voice of much carrying power, and could be heard a long distance in spite of the bustle and tumult of the crowd. He had the accent and pronunciation peculiar to his native state, Kentucky. Gradually he warmed up with his subject, his angularity disappeared, and he passed into that attitude of unconscious majesty that is so conspicuous in Saint-Gauden's statue at the entrance to Lincoln Park in Chicago. Progressing with his theme, his words began to come faster and his face to light up with the rays of genius and his body to move in unison with his thoughts. His gestures were made with his body and head rather than with his arms. They were the natural expression of the man, and so perfectly adapted to what he was saying that anything different would have been quite inconceivable. Sometimes his manner was very impassioned, and he seemed transfigured with his subject. Perspiration would stream down his face, and each particular hair would stand on end. In such transfigured moments as these, he was the type of the Hebrew prophet.

"I heard the whole speech. It was superior to Webster's reply to Hayne, because its theme is loftier and its scope wider. I think also that Lincoln's speech is the superior of the two as an example of English style. It lacks something of the smooth, comprehensive flow which takes the intellect captive in the Websterian diction, but it excels in simplicity, directness, and lucidity which appeal both to the intellect and the heart. The speech made so profound an impression on me that I feel under its spell to this day."

About two weeks after this encounter at Springfield, they had another hitch at Peoria. It was a joint discussion this time, I do not know if it were a pre-arranged one. Douglas spoke for more than three hours in presenting his isde of the question, keeping to the line of his address at Springfield. He acquitted himself well from his standpoint, and when he was through, it was supper time. Lincoln admonished his hearers to repair to their lunch baskets as his address would not be less lengthy than that of Senator Douglas, announcing at the same time that Douglas was to reply. Lincoln's reply was also very similar to his reply at Springfield, only it is said to have been in an improved form, compactness, and rigour of style. If so, it was a very impassioned address. It was not reported, nor yet a third address delivered in Bloomington in 1856, although all these were the master

pieces of his life from a political stand point of view. This third address we shall have occasion to speak of later on. Mr. Lincoln himself regarded his Peoria speech as the ablest and best of his life, and wrote it down in its entirety at his leisure, and published it in the Illinois State Journal at Springfield. From the files of this newspaper it, doubtless, may be read. Someone has copied it or parts of it, published it and given it to the people and to literature, from which source it might have been lost had not Mr. Lincoln himself taken the pains to give it forth and preserve it. It is the simplest, clearest, ablest and best putting of the subject on which it treats of anything heard or read during that lengthy period of excitement. It was on the subject of the restoration or the reenactment of the Missouri Compromise, which never came.

As I have given a description of Mr. Lincoln's manner of oratory from the pen of Mr. White who was a competent judge in a matter of this kind, it may be that I can serve my readers in no better purpose than to give a part of the Peoria speech that those who have never seen it, if any such there be, but who would be interested in reading it, might be able to possess it. Here it is: "Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did

now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances, and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew if it were out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North and become tip-top Abolitionists, while some Northern ones go south and become slave masters.

"When the Southerners tell us that they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are. I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the same. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do my self. If all earthly power were given me I should not know what to do with the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all slaves and send them to Liberia, to their native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. * * But all this, in my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our new territory than it would for reviving the African slave trade by law.

Equal justice to the South, it is said, requires us to consent to the extension of slavery to the new Territories. That is to say, inasmuch as you do not object to my taking my hog to Nebraska, therefore I must not object to you taking your slave. Now, I admit that is perfectly logical, if there is no difference between hogs and negroes. But while you require me to deny the humanity of the negro, I wish to ask whether you of the South, yourselves, have ever been willing to do as much? The great majority, South as well as North, have human sympathies, of which they can no more divest themselves than they can of their sensibility to physical pain. These sympathies in the bosoms of the Southern people manifest, in many ways, their sense of the wrong of slavery, and their consciousness that, after all, there is humanity in the negro * * And now why will you ask us to deny the humanity of the negro, and estimate him only the equal of the hog?

The doctrine of self-government is right,—absolutely and eternally right,—but it has no just appreciation as here attempted * * * But if the negro is man, is it not to that extent a total destruction of self-government to say that he too shall not govern himself? When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism * * * No man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent. I say this is the leading prin-

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ciple, the sheet-anchor, of American Republicanism. But Nebraska is urged as a great Union saving measure, Well, I too go for saving the Union. Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any great evil to avoid a greater one. But when I go to Union-saving, I must believe, at least, that the means I employ must have some adaptation to the end. To my mind, Nebraska has no such adaptation. It hath no relish of salvation in it. It is an aggravation, rather, of the only thing which ever endangers the Union. When it came upon us, all was peace and quiet. The nation was looking to the forming of new bonds of union, and a long course of peace and prosperity seemed to lie before us

"In this state of affairs the Genius of Discord himself could hardly have invented a way of again setting us by the ears but by turning back and destroying the peace measures of the past. The councils of the Genius seem to have prevailed. The Missouri Compromise was repealed; and here we are in the midst of a new slavery agitation, such, I think, as we have never seen before. * * * The Missouri Compromise ought to be restored. For the peace of the Union, it ought to be restored. If by any means we omit this, what follows? Slavery may or may not be established in Nebraska. But whether it be or not, we shall have repudiated—dis-

carded from the counsels of the nation— the spirit of compromise; for who, after this, will ever trust in a national compromise? The spirit of mutual concession— that spirit which first gave us the Constitution, and which has thrice saved the Union—we shall have strangled and cast from us forever."

"And what shall we have in lieu of it? South flushed with triumph and tempted to excess; the North betrayed as they believe, brooding on wrong and burning for revenge. One side will provoke, the other resent. One will taunt, the other defy: one aggresses, the other retaliates. Already a few in the North defy all constitutional restraints, resist the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and menance the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. Already a few in the South claim the constitutional right to take and hold slaves in the free states, demand the revival of the slave trade. But restore the Compromise, what then? We hereby restore the national faith, the national confidence the national feeling of brotherhood. We thereby reinstate the spirit of concession and compromise, that spirit which never failed us in past perils, and which may be safely trusted for all the future.

The South ought to join in this. The peace of the nation is as dear to them as to us. The memories of the past and hopes of the future, they share as largely as we. It would be on their part a great act—great in its spirit and great in its effect. It would

be worth to the nation a hundred years purchase of peace and prosperity. And what of sacrifice would they make? They only surrender to us what they gave us for a consideration long, long ago; what they asked for, struggled or cared for; what has been thrust upon them, not less to their astonishment than to ours * * * * Our republican robe is soiled and trailed in the dust. Let us purify it. Let us turn and wash it white in the spirit, if not in the blood of the Revolution. Let us turn slavery from its claims of "moral right" back upon its existing legal right of necessity. Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it, and there let it rest in peace. * * * Let North and South-let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere join in the great work and good work. If we do this we shall not only have saved the Union, but we shall have so saved it as to make and keep it forever worthy of the saving."*

Again may it be said as it was said of the Spring-field speech that Douglas was amazed—so amazed at the "skill and power of his opponent" that it is reported he made, flatteringly, a proposition to Lincoln like this: "You are giving me more trouble in debate than all the United States Senate; let us both stop and go home." The biographers of Lincoln have reported that Lincoln agreed to the proposition and kept his agreement, but Douglas did not.

^{*} Quoted from Joseph Fort Newton's Lincoln and Herndon.

In this same Peoria speech of Lincoln do these words occur: "Let us turn and wash it (meaning our republican robe) white in the spirit, if not in the blood of the Revolution." It was a "deep-toned prophetic forecast of blood and violence" which was coming. Lincoln and many others in the North as well in the South were watching the struggle approaching, and knew that it was coming on and soon.

The campaign of 1856 was a remarkable one. I remember it as if it had been only vesterday. Political clubs were formed at all the little towns throughout the State. Those of us who lived there at that time had never known the like before. Public speaking was held before these nearly every week in the daytime and after night. Men went to these in buggies, wagons, and on horseback. There were three political parties in the field at the same time all vieing with one another in single speeches or in joint discussions. Two of these parties were new parties, made out of the old Whig party with additions to either of them from the old line Democratic party. In Illinois these were the American (Know-Nothing) Party, and the other was the Republican party, made up by the fusion of the Freesoilers, the Anti-Nebraska men, and the Abolitionists. As we are here concerned with Mr. Lincoln in the part he took in bringing around this fusion, a word about it will not be out of order, especially as it

brought out one of the greatest speeches he ever made, and which had more effect than any other thing, possibly, in bringing about his nomination at the Chicago Convention, because it brought him prominently before the people.

At the beginning of the campaign of 1856, a convention was held in Bloomington for the purpose of uniting into one party the Anti-Nebraska men, the Free-soilers, and the Abolitionists, and others as chose to come out of the old Democratic party like some who attended the convention, namely, John M. Palmer, Wentworth, Allen, Judd, and Koerner. Indeed it began with Hon. John M. Palmer in the chair. It was a stormy convention, but Lincoln and a few others of his friends succeeded in quieting and uniting it. After this, the business before the convention was the nomination of a State Ticket, and Wm. H. Bissell and Francis Hoffman were chosen for candidates respectively for Governor and Lieutenant Governor. For the balance of the State ticket, it was filled by the nominating Committee of which Mr. Lincoln was chairman. The business of the convention being finished, Mr. Lincoln was set upon by many who called wildly for a speech and he replied by a vivid and intensely passionate address, the most vigorous address of his life, according to Mr. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, who was there and heard it in its entirety. There is no authentic report of this speech. Mr.

Herndon undertook to make notes of it, but abandoned the undertaking in the intensity of his interest. It was said by many of the friends who heard it however, to the the greatest of all his speeches, excelling any he made in the joint discussion with Douglas. It was the explosion of the pent up fires within him now slumbering for a long time, due to the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise still, the agitation of the Fugitive Slave Law, the Dred Scott case drawing on apace. The wild and exciting scenes going on in the country, the little war going on in the State of Kansas, the imprisonment of her Governor, the caning of Sumner in the United States senate,—all conspired to render the times exciting, and Lincoln was full to the brim. Of all the reports of this speech I have read, Mr. Herndon's is the fullest and best. I give here his report as I find it. Mr. Herndon says: "I have heard or read all of Mr. Lincoln's speeches, and I give it as my opinion that the Bloomington speech was the grand effort of his life. Heretofore he had simply argued the slavery question on grounds of policy—the statesman's grounds * * * Now he was newly baptised, * * * the smothered fire broke out; his eyes glowed with inspiration, he felt justice; his heart was alive, and he stood before the throne of the eternal Right. * * * It was logic; it was pathos; it was enthusiasm; it was justice, equity, truth and right set ablaze by the divine fires of a soul maddened by wrong; it was hard, heavy, knotted, gnarled, backed with wrath. I attempted for about fifteen minutes as usual with me to take notes, but at the end of that time I threw my pen and paper away and lived only in the inspiration of the hour. Mr. Lincoln was six feet and four inches usually, at Bloomington that day he was seven feet, and inspired at that."

CHAPTER VI

Early Days in Illinois.

Lincoln the Rail Splitter and Sir Knight
Of the Maul.

FTER THE Bloomington convention, Mr. Herndon hurried back home to Springfield in advance of Mr. Lincoln in order to make arrangements for a mass meeting the purpose of which was to unite the discordant elements among their constituents into a new party. But it is said that when the time came for the meeting which was held in the old Court-House at the Northeast corner of the capitol square, there were present only three persons. According to Mr. Herndon, Mr. Lincoln used to speak of it jokingly by saying that while he knew himself and Mr. Herndon would be there, he was not certain that any one else would be there, and that the meeting was larger than he expected.* I have heard Mr. Weber relate being present at a similar meeting in the same old Court-House with Mr. Lincoln and some one else behind

^{*} This third man's name was John Rim, whom Mr. Herndon, in his life of Lincoln, calls a "courageous" man, so great was the ordum attached to the term abolitionist. The prejudice around Springfield in those days was very great, and owing, no doubt, to the great number of Southerners among the early settlers located in and around Springfield.

closed doors, where they met and arranged everything of the preliminary matters for a new republican club and for a mass-meeting which came later and was a success. The truth is, the reason these first meetings were not larger, there was the odium attached to the term, Abolitionist, which was one of the names of the factionists to be harmonized, and only a few cared to have their names mixed up with them in a political party. They were at first very unpopular—so much so that those living today scarcely realize this fact. On this point I give two or three excerpts from Mr. Newton's Lincoln and Herndon: "Slavery had become a question about which men in Illinois picked their words with care. So intense was the feeling that in March, 1837 one month before Lincoln entered the office of Stuart—the Assembly passed a resolution expressing disapproval of the formation of Abolition societies and the doctrines advocated by them. Many men who hated slavery sympathized in part with this action, on the ground that such agitation tended more to irritate men than to convince them, thus making the situation doubly difficult. the resolution of the Assembly passed with great enthusiasm, glibly ignored the moral principle involved, and it required some courage for Lincoln to file protest against it. But he did so in words so well-chosen and far-sighted that he had no need to alter them for thirty years. He held that

slavery "is founded on both injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tend rather to increase than to abate the evils."

I give further a second excerpt from the same source: "Shortly afterwards Elijah Lovejov, editor of the St. Louis Observer, a religious weekly, was driven from that city by a mob for expressing antislavery sentiments in his paper. Unwisely, as many thought, he established his paper at Alton, Illinois, only twenty miles distant by steamer, with the result that a mob attacked his press and he was shot while defending it. Not satisfied with this brutal crime, the mob threatened to attack Illinois College Jacksonville, because its president, Edward Beecher, had stood guard with Lovejoy the night before the tragedy. Excitement was at fever heat, and indignation meetings were held throughout the State. At a gathering of students, notable for its intensity of feeling, William Herndon, in a speech long remembered by his fellow students, denounced not only the enslavement of men, but the attempt to gag the press by mob rule."

"The elder Herndon, who was intensely proslavery in his views, fearing that his son had become infested with the poison of abolitionism withdrew the lad from college, remarking that he would have no part in the education of a d—abolitionist pup! It was as he had suspected. The lad came home an enthusiastic and radical Abolitionist. There was a break between father and son, and the boy left home, though he remained religiously loyal to his mother, visiting her almost every day."*

He had been employed in Springfield before entering as a student at Illinois College, by one Joshua F. Speed, and on his return to Springfield, he reengaged himself to him as clerk in his store at seven hundred dollars per annum for his services, where he remained for several years.

I return to the place in my narrative from which I broke away to give the foreging excerpts and to where Mr. Weber, Mr. Lincoln, and one other man met together behind closed doors in the old Court House to consult together on political matters. From this time forward Mr. Weber and Mr. Lincoln became warm personal friends, more so than the former had ever been with Judge Douglas. campaigning of 1856 in our county, which was Sangamon, was the most hotly contested field I had ever witnessed. There was public speaking in almost every voting precinct in the county. only time I remember Mr. Lincoln being at our little town of Mechanicsburg to make a speech was in that year, and he spoke an hour and a half at least. He had a full house on that night. spoke mainly in behalf of Freemont, and admonished those of the American party to vote for this candidate as the most likely way to elect Mr. Fillmore, which might throw the matter of the election * See Chapter I pages 7,8, and 9 of his work, Lincoln and Herndon.

of the President into the House of Congress, as they held the balance of power, but that there was not a ghost of a chance for the American party otherwise. He wrote numerous letters that year to farmers in our end of the country whom he knew to be Fillmore men, to the same effect.

There were many large mass-meetings held in Springfield that year by all the contesting political parties with delegates representing each township in the county, and at some of these, there were in attendance as many as twenty or thirty thousand persons, or more.

In the campaign of 1856, both Mr. Lincoln and Mr Herndon made speeches for their candidate, especially Lincoln in the larger towns throughout the State, but their candidate was badly defeated. Not being able to unite all the factions in Illinois. especially the American party, Lincoln foresaw the inevitable defeat of Freemont. After this campaign, we heard very little from Lincoln, and what speeches we did hear from him, fell far below those we have indicated which brought him into such conspicuous notice. He subsided into silence, applying himself assiduously to his law practice. But Lincoln was a politician with aspirations for dignified and exalted positions, but not at all for money making. Say what we may, he aspired to the office of United States senatorship, and even to the Presidency, for either of which he was deservedly qualified.

Mr. Herndon has related in some of his notes what was going on in Lincoln's mind during this silence from 1856 to 1858. It was a state of preparation in a special way in which he and Mr. Herndon worked with very special aim. Lincoln thought well of his law partner, and counselled with him on many points with respect to his political ambitions. It is related of Mr. Lincoln that prior to the convention which met at Springfield on June 16th, 1858, he carefully prepared and wrote out the speech which he delivered before this Republican convention June 17th, 1858* I have the book of the political Debates between Lincoln and Douglas before me while I am writing. This speech is great. It has a history. When he had completed writing it, he read it aloud to Herndon, first locking the office door and drawing the curtain across the glass panel of the same. Mr. Herndon relates that he read the speech paragraph by paragraph, stopping after each to wait for comment. They discussed it fully between them, and it is said only the first paragraph which included the part of the Scripture quotation

^{*} Mr. Herndon relates in life of Lincoln that a few days before this convention met, while Mr. Lincoln was busily engaged in writing this speech, Jesse K. Dubois who was Auditor of State, came into the office and seeing Mr. Lincoln busy at writing, inquired what he was doing or what he was writing. Lincoln answered gruffly. "Its something you may see or hear sometime, but I'll not let you see it now." "After the convention Mr. Lincoln met me," says Mr. Dubois, "and said, I can tell you now what I was doing the other day when you came into my office. I was writing that speech, and I knew if I read the passage about the "house divided against itself" to you, you would ask me to change or modify it, and that I was determined not to do so. I had willed it so, and was willing if necessary to perish with it." From M. S. Statement.

from Jesus Christ, raised any question. He had used this quotation in his Bloomington speech which drew from Judge Dickey the unjust and wicked remark, "A d-fool utterance." Mr Herndon remembering the remark, said: "It is true, but is it wise or polite to say so?" Where upon Lincoln replied in a manner worthy of the man, which reply will be remembered when the name of Judge Dickey will have been forgotten. I give it as I find it: "That expression is a truth of all human experience, 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' The proposition is also true, and has been true for six thousand years. I want to use some universally well known figures expressed in simple language as universally well known, that may strike home to the minds of men in order to raise them up to the peril of the times. I do not believe I would be right in changing or omitting it. I would rather be defeated with this expression in the speech, and uphold and discuss it before the people, than be victorious without it."

But this is not the end of the matter of this speech. Afterward, Lincoln called a few of his personal friends together in the library of the State House and read to them the speech. All with the exception of Herndon pronounced against it, principally because they thought it was too radical to suit the Anti-Lecompton Democrats whom it was especially desirous to retain. Not one endorsed the wisdom

of making that speech; but when they were all done, Herndon exclaimed, "Lincoln, deliver that speech as read, and it will make you President."* And he delivered it.

In 1858, he became the competitor for the office of the United States senatorship against Douglas. It somehow always transpired that Lincoln arose to great eminence in his oratorical efforts when pitched against Douglas. The latter became eminently conspicuous by his course of opposition to President Buchanan when his term of office of the United States senatorship was drawing to a close, and he returned to Illinois flushed by his victory over him; and, armed, moreover, with the Dred Scott Decision. he determined to push his campaign with the utmost vigor. Lincoln was waiting and watchful to dispute every inch of his way with his careful preparation. Douglas returned to Chicago accompanied by his newly wedded wife who was a very fascinating and accomplished lady, qualified in every way to render him popular and to assist him wherever he went. Indeed, so popular was he that his reception was every where one ceaseless round of toasting and ovation.

His return to Chicago was greeted by a committee of reception, with a grand supper, a brass band, a procession, and the firing of cannon. At night he made a great speech. Mr. Lincoln was * Herndon and Wiek's Life of Lincoln.

present on the balcony from which he made his speech only a few feet away from him and heard every word. The next evening he made a great speech also in reply from the same balcony. Mr. Douglas made a great, popular and introductory speech opening his campaign. In it he gloated over his late victory in the senate. He was very smooth and patronizing, and after he had himself proceeded to some length, he turned from his theme to address Mr. Lincoln personally. After his compliments to the latter, as a kind, amiable, intelligent and worthy competitor whom he had known for many years, he addressed himself to an attack upon the latter's speech at Springfield, delivered on the occasion of his nomination for United States senator from Illinois in lieu of Mr. Douglas. We gave a moment ago a little bit of history of that speech of Lincoln's acceptance. Sure enough, as anticipated, Mr. Douglas attacked its first paragraph, the impregnable basis, as Lincoln thought, uttered by the historic Christ: "A house divided against itself cannot stand," which passage Lincoln took from the Word in order to make his attack upon the institution of slavery. These two speeches may be considered the commencement of the great political joint debate between these champions, and Mr. Lincoln's speech of acceptance at Springfield was the key. In it Mr. Lincoln had said: "I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free.

I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it to cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or the other. Mr. Douglas attacked Mr. Lincoln's position in strong terms.

Another point in Lincoln's speech of acceptance of the candidature of the United States senatorship was his opposition to the Dred Scott Decision. It was one of the strong points with which Douglas expected easy victory over his competitor. It was the side of the law; but Lincoln took his stand against it from the moral standpoint, arguing against the moral status of slavery, insisting that although the Decision was by the United States Supreme Court that Decision might be reversed or be lawfully changed. Lincoln attacked his position in the whole course he took in the senate, first for his pro-slavery participation in the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, for his maintenance of the Fugitive Slave Law, and for his upholding the Supreme Court Decision in the Dred Scott case. The position of Mr. Douglas was a difficult one and now required him to reverse himself from his former course of working with the pro-slavery element. His position on the Kansas-Nebraska bill was a course inconsistent with his former course, and his Popular-Sovereignty scheme was only a thin veneer to hide this inconsistency, which he could not make work to this real advantage. Douglas had stated in the United States senate in his opposition to Presi-

dent Buchanan with respect to the Kansas State constitution, that it was her right to have her constitution as she wanted it. If she had desired to be a slave state, she had a perfect right to be so; but if it were her choice to be a free state, that was her privilege. "It is none of my business," maintained Mr. Douglas, "which way the slavery clause is decided. I care not whether it is voted up or down." Mr. Lincoln saw through this entire matter of Judge Douglas, and he ceased not to ring changes upon it during the entire joint discussion. Douglas tried to get even with Lincoln by doing likewise over the matter of the latter's "divided house" clause paragraph in his Springfield speech of acceptance as a candidate for Mr. Douglas's position as United States senator. Their rivalry as candidates became so hotly contested that before it was through with, it wore so heavily upon Douglas he showed signs of nervousness even to the point of irritation. But Lincoln cared for none of this. Whoever desires to read or re-read this controversy, will find the two Chicago speeches of Douglas and Lincoln, the attack of the former and the answer of the latter, a good preface to this whole joint discussion.

In a former chapter we promised to have something to say concerning Mr. Lincoln as a "Railsplitter" and his "Rails." We do so now at the close of this chapter and before we begin the chapter on the joint discussion. We have already given

some points in regard to this subject, but there are some other features connected therewith that many may not know, and which may be regarded as its funny side which some people will enjoy. Mr. Lincoln received the title, whether a dignified one or not of the "Rail-splitter of the Republic of the West." A well known and dignified English Gentleman has well spoken of him under this title. This he has sometimes been called in England, but in this country where we do not pay so much heed to honors, he has been simply designated by the common term, "Rail-splitter." The above honorary English designation, had he lived a few centuries ago, might have been extended and added to as a "Sir Knight of the Maul, the Axe and the Wedge," the necessary working tools of that occupation or as appendages of his profession, after his name and his fame had passed into history. But his fame as a rail-splitter was not due him in his early days, but years afterward to his coming into political prominence, and when he was about to receive the nomination at a State convention held at Decatur previous to the national convention held at Chicago, which nominated him for Presidency of the United States.

Be this story of Mr. Lincoln whatever it may, it is a true one from the source of its origin, and worked to his advantage in spreading his name world wide as the Cincinnatus of the Republic of the West, and was a story which he himself enjoyed.

The advantages derived from it was, it helped the republican party to elect him President of the United States. And thereby hangs another story of the appendages of his title. It is the story of the "maul," which I shall now relate. To do this, I shall have recourse to Mr. Weber's Reminiscences again of the early times in Springfield. It will be of interest to some people to know, and must be authenticated. Some of these reminiscences appeared in a small weekly paper which he and his sons published in Springfield for several years after the Civil War. The story is as follows: "After Mr. Lincoln was nominated by the Chicago convention, the republican executive committee in Springfield received orders from all parts of the country from union leagues and executive committees for one of Lincoln's old The demand became so great that our old friend Hopper turned it into a grand speculation.

John Hopper kept a news depot on Sixth street, between Adams and Monroe. He was from New York city, and was acquainted with all the tricks of politicans. Hopper bought old rails by wholesale and shipped all orders from abroad, at reasonable prices (any price was considered reasonable for so precious a relic). Hopper made a good thing out of it. And Hopper did a good work for the republicans in the days of their purity.

"But to cap the climax, during this mania for rails, "Uncle Jesse" (Jesse K. Du Bois) visited his farm in the southern part of the State, and one day in going into the timber, he spied an old maul. In an instant a bright idea was dancing in his head and gleaming from his good natured face. He thought he could pass the maul off for one of Lincoln's old mauls. He brought the maul to Springfield and presented it to Hopper just in time to fill an order from Massachusetts for a Lincoln rail or some other relic of his days of hard labor. Hopper knew exactly how to fix it up, and proceeded at once to have the maul and rail certified to by several noted republicans as genuine relics of "Old Abe." They were sent with the bill "C. O. D."

"The arrival of the maul and rail produced a sensation in Massachusetts. In the after calls for republican conventions in New England, all that was necessary to secure an immense crowd was to announce the fact that Lincoln's maul would be on exhibition."

CHAPTER VII

Early Days in Illinois.

The Preliminaries of the Joint Discussion.

T IS NOT our purpose to extend these notes to any great length into the joint debate between these two men, yet it is needful to take it up and follow if far enough to give the salient points between them, and in such wise as shall be clear and understood; also, that any one who has never read the discussion may be able to judge of the relative merits of the two contestants. wise, these sketches would seem to be incomplete; and, moreover, because some idea may be realized of the great questions which were uppermost before the American nation to be settled, and which cost a bloody civil war in the end. Those living in this age, after it is all over and settled, can scarcely judge of the magnitude of the strife, nor realize what it cost.

These debates between Lincoln and Douglas were the prelude to the crisis; and they drew upon them not only the eyes of all the States, but the attention of the world, and towards the great State of Illinois, because it was here these champions lived, who were contending for high honors, and not only so, but because of the great question of slavery between them which was up for discussion, was so greatly affecting the American nation and Government just at this time either for its extension or prohibition, into new territory. The mind of the people was very much agitated everywhere throughout the States, and was the great issue which was being threshed out between these two great contestants in their great arguments.

The breach between the anti-slavery faction of the north and the pro-slavery faction of the south widened and threatened the perpetuity of the American government. Every body was watching with strained eyes the result of the issue in Illinois in 1858 which had for its object the United States senatorship of that State.

In the immediately preceding chapter is given in part the conditions obtaining in Illinois just at this time. It is necessary to recur to the conditions to give some additional points in order to bring the subject more fully before our minds, and to give cause why it was so. If there were any two States in the Union which were more pivotal in the North and in the South on the slavery question than the others, those two States were respectively Illinois and South Carolina, the former of anti-slavery tendencies, and the latter of pro-slavery tendencies. In the early settlement of Illinois, the pro-slavery

interests undertook to make of her broad prairies a territory which would eventually become, when admitted into the Union, a slave State. But the scheme failed. On the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, that same pro-slavery interest was revived, and hopes were entertained that Kansas and Nebraska would both become slave States.

We have seen the part Senator Douglas took in this matter. Hence the warfare of words and antagonism between him and Abraham Lincoln in the discussions which took place and which lasted a period of the greater part of a decade. While Lincoln was defeated for the senatorship by Douglas, the great discussions were the means of so bringing out the latent powers of Lincoln as to have greater honors conferred upon him which seem to have been reserved for him Providentially—The Presidency of the United States.

Before taking up the joint discussions proper, some things else as a fore-word would seem to be necessary. The debate between these two rivals for the senatorship really began before the joint discussion which followed the challenge of Mr. Lincoln. The campaign was really ushered in at Chicago on the occasion of the reception of Mr. Douglas when he made a speech to the people of that city from the balcony of his hotel on July 6th, on his return home from the East, and was followed by Mr. Lincoln the next evening from the same balcony in a reply.

A brief detailed account of these speeches has been given in chapter six. On July 16th Mr. Douglas delivered a speech at Bloomington, and another the next day at Springfield. These two speeches are very similar. Mr. Lincoln was present and heard the Bloomington speech, but was not present at the Springfield speech. Mr. Lincoln replied to Bloomington speech the next day at Springfield, but Mr. Douglas was not present. Mr. Douglas made his two speeches respectively at Bloomington and Springfield in daylight; but Mr. Lincoln made his answer to the former on the evening of the 17th at Springfield, with only twenty-four hours time for preparation including his trip to Springfield. Both these speeches of these contestants are master-pieces of their kind and in what they meant to the whole country. Heretofore, the writer had been in sympathy with Mr. Douglas on account mainly of his Popular Sovereignty doctrine, and because of the course he had taken in the United States senate against President Buchanan and his friends to foist slavery upon the State of Kansas knocking at the door for admission into the Union. He was then well along in his "teens" and had been watching the course of events, reading both sides of the question of slavery thrust upon the people for their consideration just at this period. He had taken up with the popular side which was in keeping the existing law of the land out of respect for the law itself, and Douglas was his hero in this defense; but the reading of the reply to Mr. Douglas, sent him Lincolnward ever thereafter.

I desire to give here in a chapter by itself following this one after I shall have gotten through with preliminaries and the correspondence which led up to the joint discussion, these two great speeches in their exact form in which they were delivered, for they together with the Chicago speech led up to the challenge, and the great discussion which grew out of it. There are those who may never have read the exact issues between these two disputants, and who would like to read them just as they were put by themselves with the struggle of "Greek against Greek" for the mastery. However, before I do so. I shall transcribe here a brief statement of the issues between them which I find in the Centennial Edition of the Illinois State Register at Springfield, written by Mr. Walter Lewis Patterson, June 23rd, 1918, as follows:

"The doctrine set forth by Douglas in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and defended by him throughout his political career, was known as 'Popular-Sovereignty', which was changed by his political enemies to 'Squatter Sovereignty', and it was simply that the people of a territory applying for admission as a state of the Union, had a right to decide for themselves whether they should own slaves or not, and that Congress had no power to deny this right, but

when the democratic national administration of which President James Buchanan was the head. attempted to force Kansas into the Union under a constitution recognizing slavery against the will of a majority of the people of the territory, Douglas denounced the act in unmeasured terms, and thus drew down upon himself the opposition of the President and his political friends. Notwithstanding this opposition in his own party, Douglas went before the people of Illinois for his vindication, and when challenged to a joint debate by Lincoln, who had been selected by the republican state convention as a candidate for United States senator, he accepted and went into the fight with all confidence and courage that had carried him to former victories. Both of these men were equipped for the contest not only with natural ability, but with political experience."

One thing more I would say here. There may be those who shall be my readers, who have never read an entire speech of these two men, but who would like to have this privilege in order to judge of their power as orators and especially the closely contested questions between them at this period. These two speeches are fair samples although possibly not their best examples, and both were delivered in the home town of Lincoln, which had once been the home of Judge Douglas in an earlier day of their history.

CORRESPONDENCE

Between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas relative to the Joint Discussion which was held between them between the dates of August 21st and October 15th inclusive, 1858.

Chicago, Ill., July 24th, 1858.

Hon. S. A. Douglas-My Dear Sir:

Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time, and address the same audiences the present canvass? Mr. Judd, who will hand you this, is authorized to receive your answer; and, if agreeable to you, to enter into the terms of such arrangement.

Your Obedient Servant

A. Lincoln.

Chicago, July 24th, 1858

Hon. A. Lincoln-Dear Sir:

Your note of this date, in which you inquire if it would be agreeable to me to make arrangement to divide the time and address the same audiences during the present canvass, was handed me by Mr. Judd. Recent events have interposed difficulties in the way of such an arrangement.

I went to Springfield last week for the purpose of conferring with the Democratic State Central Committee upon the mode of conducting the canvass, and with them, and under their advice, made a list of appointments covering the entire period until

late in October. The people of the several localities have been notified of the times and places of the meetings. Those appointments have all been made for Democratic meetings, and arrangements have been made by which the Democratic candidates for Congress, for the Legislature, and other offices, will be present and address the people. It is evident, therefore, that these various candidates, in connection with myself, will occupy the whole time of the day and evening, and leave no opportunity for other speeches.

Besides, there is another consideration which should be kept in mind. It has been suggested recently that an arrangement had been made to bring out a third candidate for the United States Senate, who, with yourself, should canvass the State in opposition to me, with no other purpose than to insure my defeat, by dividing the Democratic party for your benefit. If I should make this arrangement with you, it is more than probable that this candidate who has a common object with you, would desire to become a party to it, and claim the right to speak from the same stand; so that he and you, in concert, might be able to take the opening and closing in every case.

I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise, if it was your original intention to invite such an arrangement, that you should have waited until after I should have made my appointments, inasmuch as we were both here in Chicago together for several days after my arrival, and again at Bloomington, Atlanta, Lincoln and Springfield, where it was well known I went for the purpose of consulting with the State Central Committee, and agreeing upon the plan of the campaign.

While, under the circumstances, I do not feel at liberty to make any arrangements which would deprive the Democratic candidate for Congress, State office, and the Legislature from participating in the discussion at the various meetings designated by the Democratic State Central Committee, I will, in order to accommodate you as far as it is in my power to do so, take the responsibility of making an arrangement with you for a discussion between us at one prominent point in each Congressional District in the State, except the second and sixth districts, where we have both spoken, and in each of which cases you had the concluding speech. If agreeable to you, I will indicate the following places as the most suitable in the several Congressional Districts at which we should speak, to wit: Freeport, Ottawa, Galesburg, Quincy, Alton, Jonesboro and Charleston. I will confer with you at the earliest convenient opportunity in regard to the mode of conducting the debate, the times of meeting at the several places, subject to the condition, and where appointments have been made by the Democratic State Central

Committeeat any of those places, I must insist upon you meeting me at the times specified.

Very respectfully, Your obedient servant, S. A. Douglas.

Springfield, Ill., July 29th, 1858.

Hon. S. A. Douglas-Dear Sir:

Yours of the 24th in relation to an arrangement to divide time, and address the same audiences, is received; and, in apology for not sooner replying, allow me to say, that when I sat by you at dinner vesterday, I was not aware that you had answered my note, nor, certainly, that my own note had been presented to you. An hour after, I saw a copy of your answer in the Chicago Times, and, reaching home, I found the original awaiting me. Protesting that your insinuations of attempting unfairness on my part are unjust, and with the hope that you did not considerately make them, I proceed to reply. To your statement that "It has been suggested, recently, that an arrangement had been made to bring out a third candidate for U. S. Senate, who, with yourself, should canvass the State in opposition to me," etc., I can only say, that such suggestion must have been made by yourself, for certainly none such has been made by or to me, or otherwise, to my knowledge. Surely you did not deliberately conclude, as you insinuate, that I was expecting to draw you into an arrangement of terms, to be agreed on yourself, by which a third candidate and myself,

"in concert, might be able to take the opening and closing speech in every case."

As to your surprise that I did not sooner make the proposal to divide time with you, I can only say, I made it as soon as I resolved to make it. I did not know but that such proposal would come from you; I waited, respectfully, to see. It may have been well known to you that you went to Springfield for the purpose of agreeing on the campaign; but it was not so known to me. When your appointments were announced in the papers, extending only to the 21st of August, I, for the first time considered it certain that you would make no proposal to me, and then resolved that, if my friends concurred, I would make one to you. As soon thereafter as I could see and consult with friends satisfactorily, I did make the proposal. It did not occur to me that the proposed arrangements could derange your plans after the latest of your appointments already made. After that, there was, before the election, largely over two months of clear time.

For you to say that we have already spoken at Chicago and Springfield, and that on both occasions I had the concluding speech, is hardly a fair statement. The truth rather is this: At Chicago, July 9th, you made a carefully-prepared conclusion on my speech June 16th. Twenty four hours after, I made a hasty conclusion on yours of the 9th. You had six days to prepare, and concluded on me again

at Bloomington on the 16th. Twenty four hours after, I concluded on you at Springfield. In the meantime, you had made another conclusion on me at Springfield, which I did not hear, and of the contents of which I knew nothing when I spoke; so that your speech made in daylight, and mine at night, of the 17th, at Springfield were both made in perfect independence of each other. The dates of making all these speeches will show, I think, that in the matter of time for preparation, the advantage has all been on your side; and that none of the external circumstances have stood to my advantage.

I agree to an arrangement for us to speak at the seven places you have named, and at your own times, provided you name the times at once, so that I, as well as you can have to myself the time covered by the arrangement. As to the other details, I wish perfect reciprocity, and no more. I wish as much time as you, and that conclusions shall alternate. That is all.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. As matters stand, I shall be at no more of your exclusive meetings; and for about a week from today a letter from you will reach me at Springfield.

A.L.

Bement, Piatt Co., Ill., July 30, 1858.

Dear Sir:

Your letter, dated yesterday, accepting my proposition for a joint discussion at one prominent point in each Congressional District, as stated in my previous letter, was received this morning.

The times and places designated are as follows:

Ottawa, Lasalle County,
Freeport, Stephenson County,
Jonesboro, Union County,
Charleston, Coles County,
Galesburgh, Knox County,
Quincy, Adams County,
Alton, Madison County

August 21st, 1858
September 15th, 1858
October 7th, 1858
October 13th, 1858

I agree to your suggestion that we shall alternately open and close the discussion. I will speak at Ottawa one hour, you can reply, occupying an hour and a half, and I will follow for half an hour. At Freeport you shall open the discussion and speak an hour, I will follow for an hour and a half, and you can then reply for half an hour. We will alternate in like manner in each successive place.

Very respectfully, Your obedient servant, Hon. A. Lincoln, Springfield, Ill. S. A. Douglas.

Springfield, July, 31st, 1858.

Hon. S. A. Douglas-Dear Sir:

Yours of yesterday, naming places, times and turns, for joint discussion between us, was received

this morning. Although, by the terms, as you propose, you take *four* openings and closes, to my *three*, I accede, and thus close the arrangement. I direct this to you at Hillsboro, and shall try to have both your letter and this appear in the *Journal* and *Register* of Monday morning.

Your Obedient Servant,

A. Lincoln.

CHAPTER VIII

Early Days in Illinois.

Speech of Senator Douglas.

Delivered July 17th, 1858, at Springfield, Ill. (Mr Lincoln not being Present).

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens of Springfield and Old Sangamon: My heart is filled with emotion at the allusions which have been so happily and so kindly made in the welcome just extended to me, a welcome so numerous and so enthusiastic, bringing me to my home among my old friends, that language cannot express my gratitude. I do feel at home whenever I return to old Sangamon and receive those kind and friendly greetings which have never failed to meet me when I have come among you; but never before have I had such occasion to be grateful and to be proud of the manner of the reception as at present. While I am willing, sir, to attribute a part of this demonstration to those kind and friendly personal relations to which you have referred, I cannot conceal from myself that the controlling and prevailing element in this mass of human beings is devotion to that principle of selfgovernment to which so many years of my life have been devoted; and rejoice more in considering it an approval of my support of a cardinal principle than I would if I could appropriate it to myself as a personal compliment.

You but speak rightly when you assert that during the last session of Congress there was an attempt to violate one of the fundamental principles upon which our free institutions rest. The attempt to force the Lecompton Constitution upon the people of Kansas against her will would have been, if successful, subversive of the great fundamental principles upon which our institutions rest. If there is any one principle more sacred and more vital to the existence of a free government than all others, it is the right of the people to form and ratify the constitution under which they are to live. It is the corner-stone of the temple of liberty; it is the foundation upon which the whole structure rests: and whenever it can be successfully evaded, self-government has received a stab. I deemed it my duty as a citizen and as a representative of the State of Illinois, to resist, with all my energies and with whatever ability I could command, the consummation of that effort to force a constitution upon an unwilling people. I am aware that other questions have been connected, or attempted to be connected, with that great struggle; but they were mere collateral questions, not affecting the main point.

opposition to the Lecompton Constitution rested solely upon the fact that it was not the act and deed of that people, and that it did not embody their will. I did not object to it upon the ground of the slavery clause contained in it. I should have resisted it with the same energy and determination even if it had been a free State instead of a slave holding State; and so as an evidence of this fact I wish you to bear in mind that my speech against that Lecompton Act was made on the 9th day of December, nearly two weeks before the vote was taken on the acceptance or rejection of the slavery clause. I did not then know, whether the slavery clause would be accepted or rejected; the general impression was that it would be rejected, and in my speech I assumed that impression to be true, that probably it would be voted down; and then I said to the United States Senate, as I now proclaim to you, my constituents, that you have no more right to force a free State upon an unwilling people than you have to force a slave State upon them against their will. You have no right to force either a good or a bad thing upon a people who do not choose to receive it. And then, again, the highest privilege of our people is to determine for themselves what kind of institutions are good and what kind of institutions are bad; and it may be true that the same people, situated in a different latitude and different climate, and with different productions and different interests, might decide the same question one way in the North and another way in the South, in order to adapt their institutions to the wants and wishes of the people to be affected by them.

You are familiar with the Lecompton struggle, and I will occupy no more time upon the subject, except to remark that when we drove the enemies of the principle of sovereignty from the effort to force the Lecompton Constitution upon the people of Kansas, and when we compelled them to abandon the attempt and to refer that Constitution to that people for acceptance or rejection, we obtained a concession of the principle for which I had contended throughout the struggle. When I saw that the principle was conceded, and that the Constitution was not to be forced upon Kansas against the wishes of the people, I felt anxious to give the proposition my support; but when I examined it, I found that the mode of reference to the people and the form of submission, upon which the vote was taken, was so objectionable as to make it unfair and unjust.

Sir, it is an axiom with me that in every free government an unfair election is no election at all. Every election should be free, should be fair, with the same privilege and the same inducements for a negative as for an affirmative vote. The objection to what is called the "English" proposition by the Lecompton Constitution as referred back to the people of Kansas, was this: that if the people chose

to accept the Lecompton Constitution they could come in with only 35,000 inhabitants; while if they determined to reject it, in order to form another more in accordance with their wishes and sentiments, they were compelled to stay out until they should have 93,420 inhabitants. In other words, it was making a distinction and discrimination between free States and slave States under the Federal Constitution. I deny the justice, I deny the right, of any distinction or discrimination between the States North and South, free or slave. Equality among the States is a fundamental principle of this govern-Hence, while I will never consent to the passage of a law that a slave State may come in with 35,000, while a free State shall not come in unless it have 93,000, on the other hand, I shall not consent to admit a free State with a population of 35,000, and require 93,000 in a slave-holding State.

My principle is to recognize each State of the Union as independent, sovereign, and equal in its sovereignty. I will apply that principle, not only to the original thirteen States, but to the States which have since been brought into the Union, and also to every State that shall hereafter be received, "as long as water shall run, and grass grow." For these reasons I felt compelled, by a sense of duty, by a conviction of principle, to record my vote against the English bill; but yet the bill became a law, and under that law an election has been ordered to be

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held on the first Monday in August, for the purpose of determining the question of the acceptance or rejection of the proposition submitted by Congress. I have no hesitation in saying to you, as the chairman of your committee has justly said in his address, that whatever the decision of the people of Kansas may be at that election, it must be final and conclusive of the whole subject; for if at that election a majority of the people of Kansas shall vote for the acceptance of the Congressional proposition, Kansas from that moment becomes a State of the Union. the law admitting her becomes irreparable, and thus the controversy terminates forever; if, on the other hand, the people of Kansas shall vote down that proposition, as it is now generally admitted they will, by a large majority, then from that instant the Lecompton Constitution is dead,—dead beyond the power of resurrection; and thus the controversy terminates. And when the monster shall die, I shall be willing, and trust that all of you will be willing, to acquiesce in the death of the Lecompton Constitution. The controversy may now be considered as terminated, for in three weeks from now it will be finally settled, and all the ill-feeling, all the embittered feeling which grew out of it shall cease, unless an attempt should be made in the future to repeat the same outrage upon the popular rights. I need not to tell you that my past course is a sufficient guaranty that if the occasion shall ever arise

again while I occupy a seat in the United States Senate, you will find me carrying out the same principle that I have this winter with all my energy and all the power I may be able to command. I have the gratification of saying to you that I do not believe that that controversy will ever arise again: firstly, because the fate of Lecompton is a warning to the people of every Territory and of every State to be cautious how the example is repeated; and, secondly, because the President of the United States. in his annual message, has said that he trusts the example in the Minnesota case, wherein Congress passed a law, called the Enabling Act, requiring the Constitution to be submitted to the people for acceptance or rejection, will be followed in all future cases ["That was right."] I agree with you that it was right. I said so on the day after the message was delivered in my speech in the Senate on the Lecompton Constitution, and I have frequently in my speech in the Senate on the Lecompton Constitution, and I have frequently in the debate tendered to the President and his friends, tendered to the Lecomptonites, my voluntary pledge, that if he will stand by that recommendation, and they will stand by it, they will find me working hand in hand with them in the effort to carry it out. All we have to do, therefore, is to adhere firmly in future, as we have done in the past, to the principle contained in the recommendation of the President in his an-

nual message, that the example in the Minnesota case shall be carried out in all future cases of the admission of Territories into the Union as States. Let that be done, and the principle of popular sovereignty will be maintained in all its vigor and all of its integrity. I rejoice to know that Illinois stands prominently and proudly forward among the States which first took their position firmly and immovably upon this principle of popular sovereignty applied to the Territories as well as the States. You all recollect when in 1850, the peace of the country was disturbed in consequence of the agitation of the slavery question, and the effort to force the Wilmot Proviso upon all the Territories, that it required all the talent and all the energy, all the wisdom, all the patriotism, of a Clay and Webster, united with other great leaders, to devise a system of measures by which peace and harmony could be restored to our distracted country. Those compromise measures eventually passed, and were recorded on the statute book, not only as the settlement of the then existing difficulties, but as furnishing a rule of action which should prevent in all future time the recurrence of like evils, if they were firmly and fairly carried out. Those compromise measures rested, as I advised in my speech at Chicago on my return home that year, upon the principle that every people ought to have the right to form and regulate their own domestic

institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution. They were founded upon the principle that while every State possessed that right under the Constitution, that the same right ought to be extended to and exercised by the people of the Territories. When the Illinois Legislature sembled, a few months after the adoption of these measures, the first thing the members did was to review their action upon the slavery agitation, and to correct the errors into which their predecessors had fallen. You remember that their first act was to repeal the Wilmot Proviso instructions to our United States Senators, which had been previously passed, and in lieu of them to record another resolution upon the journal, with which you must all be familiar, a resolution brought forward by Mr. Ninian Edwards, and adopted by the House of Representatives by a vote of 61 in the affirmative to 4 in the negative. That resolution I can quote to you in almost its precise language. It declared that the great principle of self-government was the birth-right of freemen, was the gift of Heaven, was achieved by the blood of our revolutionary fathers, and must be continued and carried out in the organization of all the Territories and admission of all New States. That became the Illinois platform by the united voices of the Democratic party and of the Whig party in 1851; all the Whigs and all the Democrats in the Legislature uniting in an affirmative vote upon it,

and there being only four votes in the negative,of Abolitionists, of course. That resolution stands upon the journal of your Legislature to this day and hour unrepealed, as a standing, living, perpetual instruction to the Senators from Illinois in all time to come to carry out the principle of self-government, and allow no limitation upon it in the organization of any Territories or the admission of any new States. In 1854, when it became my duty as the chairman of the committee on Territories to bring forward a bill for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska incorporated that principle in it, and Congress passed it, thus carrying the principle into practical effect. I will not recur to these scenes which took place all over the country in 1854, when that Nebraska Bill passed. I could then travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of my own effigies, in consequence of having stood up for it. I leave it to you to say how I met that storm, and whether I quailed under it; whether I did not "face the music," justify the principle, and pledge my life to carry it out.

A friend here reminds me, too, that when making speeches then, justifying the Nebraska Bill and the great principle of self-government, that I predicted that in less than five years you would have to get out a search-warrant to find an anti-Nebraska man. Well, I believe I did make that prediction. I did not claim the power of a prophet, but it occurred to me

that among a free people, and an honest people, and an intelligent people, that five years were long enough for them to come to an understanding that the great principle of self-government was right, not only in the States but in the Territories. I rejoiced this year to see my prediction, in that respect, carried out and fulfilled by a unanimous vote, in one form or another, of both Houses of Congress. If you will remember that pending this Lecompton controversy that gallant old Roman, Kentucky's favorite son, the worthy successor of the immortal Clay,—I allude, as you know, to the gallant John J. Crittendenbrought forward a bill, now known as the Crittenden-Montgomery bill, in which it was proposed that the Lecompton Constitution should be referred back to the people of Kansas, to be decided for or against it, at a fair election, and if the majority were in favor of it, that Kansas should come into the Union as a slave holding state, but that if the majority were against it, that they should make a new constitution, and come in with slavery or without it, as they thought proper. ("That was right.") Yes, my dear sir, it was not only right, but it was carrying out the principle of the Nebraska Bill in its letter and in its spirit. Of course I voted for it, and so did every Republican Senator and Representative in Congress. I have found some Democrats so perfectly straight that they blame me for voting for the principle of the Nebraska Bill because the Republicans voted the same way. (Great laughter, "what did they say.")

What did he say? Why, many of them said that Douglas voted with the Republicans. Yes, not only that, but with the *black* Republicans. Well, there are different modes of stating that proposition. The New York *Tribune* says that Douglas did not vote with the Republicans, but that on that question the Republicans went over to Douglas and voted with him.

My friends, I have never yet abandoned a principle because of the support I found men yielding to it, and I shall never abandon my Democratic principles merely because Republicans come to them. what do we travel over the country and make speeches in every political canvass, if it is not to enlighten the minds of the Republicans, to remove the scales from their eyes, and to impart to them the light of Democratic vision, so that they may be able to carry out the Constitution of our country as our fathers made it. And if by preaching our principles to the people we succeed in convincing the Republicans of the errors of their ways, and bring them over to us, are we bound to turn traitors to our principles merely because they give them support? All I have to say is that I hope the Republican party will stand firm in the future, by the vote they gave the Crittenden-Montgomery bill. I hope we will find, in the resolutions of their country and Congressional conventions of "no more Slave States to be admitted into this Union," but in lieu of that declaration that we will find the principle that the people of every State and every Territory shall come into the Union with slavery or without it, just as they please without any interference on the part of Congress.

My friends, whilst I was at Washington, engaged in this great battle for sound constitutional principles, I find from the newspapers that the Republican party of this State assembled in State Convention, and not only nominated, as it was wise and proper for them to do, a man for my successor in the Senate, but laid down a platform, and their nominee made a speech, carefully written and prepared, and well delivered, which that Convention accepted as containing the Republican creed. I have no comment to make on that part of Mr. Lincoln's speech in which he represents me as forming a conspiracy with the Supreme Court, and with the late President of the United States and the present chief magistrate, having for my object the passage of the Nebraska Bill, the Dred Scott decision, and the extension of slavery,—a scheme of political tricksters, composed of Chief Justice Taney and his eight associates, two Presidents of the United States, and one Senator of Illinois. If Mr. Lincoln deems me a conspirator of that kind, all I have to say is that I do not think so badly of the President of the United States, and the Supreme Court of the United States,

the highest judicial tribunal on earth, as to believe that they were capable in their action and decision of entering into political intrigues for partisan purposes. I therefore shall only notice those parts of Mr. Lincoln's speech in which he lays down his platform of principles, and tells you what he intends to do if he is elected to the Senate of the United States. An old gentleman here rose on the platform and said: ["Be particular now, judge, be particular."]

Mr. Douglas: My venerable friend here says that he will be gratified if I will be particular; and in order that I may be so, I will read the language of Mr. Lincoln as reported by himself and published to the country. Mr. Lincoln lays down his main proposition in these words:

"'A house divided against itself cannot stand'. I believe this Union cannot endure permanently half free and half slave. I do not expect the Union will be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

Mr. Lincoln does not think this Union can continue to exist composed of half slave and half free States; they must all be free or all slave. I do not doubt that he thinks it is the highest duty of every patriotic citizen to preserve this glorious Union, and to adopt these measures as necessary to its preservation. He tells you that the only mode to preserve the

Union is to make all the States free, or all slave. It must be the one or it must be the other. Now, that being essential, in his estimation, to the preservation of this glorious Union, how is he going to accomplish it? He says that he wants to go to the Senate in order to carry out this favorite patriotic policy of his making all the States free, so that the house shall no longer be divided against itself. When he gets to the Senate, by what means is he going to accomplish it? By an Act of Congress? Will he contend that Congress has any power under the Constitution to abolish slavery in any State of the Union, or to interfere with it directly or indirectly? Of course he will not contend that. Then what is his mode of carrying out his principle, by which slavery shall be abolished in the States? Mr. Lincoln certainly does not speak at random. He is a lawyer,—an eminent lawyer,—and his profession is to know the remedy for every wrong. What is his remedy for this imaginary wrong which he supposes to exist? The Constitution of the United States provides that it may be amended by Congress passing an amendment by a two-thirds majority of each house, which shall be ratified by three-fourths of the States; and the inference that Mr. Lincoln intends to carry this slavery agitation into Congress with the view of amending the Constitution so that slavery can be abolished in all the States of the Union. In other words, he is not going to allow one

portion of the Union to be slave and another portion to be free; he is not going to permit the house to be divided against itself. He is going to remedy it by lawful and constitutional means. What are to be these means? How can he abolish slavery in those States where it exists? There is but one mode by which a political organization, composed of men in the free States, can abolish slavery in the slaveholding States, and that would be to abolish the State legislatures, blot out of existence the State sovereignties, invest Congress with full and plenary power over all the local and domestic and police regulations of the different States of this Union. Then there would be uniformity in the local concerns and domestic institutions of the different States; then the house would be no longer divided against itself; then the States would be free, or they would be slave; then you would have uniformity prevailing throughout this whole land in the local and domestic institutions; but it would be a uniformity, not of liberty, but a uniformity of despotism that would triumph. I submit to you, my fellow citizens, whether this is not the logical consequence of Mr. Lincoln's propposition? I have called on Mr. Lincoln to explain what he did mean, if he did not mean this, and he has made a speech at Chicago in which he attempts to explain. And how does he explain? I will give him the benefit of his own language, precisely as

it was reported in the Republican papers of that city, after undergoing his revision:

"I have said a hundred times, and have now no inclination to take it back, that I believe there is no right and ought to be no inclination in the people of the free States to enter into the Slave States and interfere with the question of slavery at all."

He believes there is no right on the part of the free people of the free States to enter into the slave States and interfere with the question of slavery; hence he does not prepare to go to Kentucky and stir up a civil war and a servile war between the blacks and the whites. All he proposes is to invite the people of Illinois and every other free State to band together as one sectional party, governed and divided by geographical line, to make war upon the institution of slavery in the slave holding States. He is going to carry it out by means of a political party that has its adherents only in the free States, a political party that does not pretend that it can give a solitary vote in the slave States of the Union; and by this sectional vote he is going to elect a President of the United States, form a cabinet and administer the government on sectional grounds, being the power of the North over that of the South. In other words, he invites a war of the North against the slave-holding States. He asks all men against the South, a warfare of the free States

in the free States to conspire to exterminate slavery in the Southern States, so as to make them all free and then notifies the South that, unless they are going to submit to our efforts to exterminate institutions, they must band together and plant slavery in Illinois and every Northern State. He says that the states must all be free or all slave. On this point I take issue with him directly. I assert that Illinois has a right to decide the slavery question for herself. We have decided it, and I think we have done so wisely; but whether wisely or unwisely, it is our business, and the people of no other State have any right to interfere with us, directly or indirectly. Claiming as we do this right for ourselves, we must concede it to every other State, to be exercised by them respectively.

Now Mr. Lincoln says that he will not enter into Kentucky to abolish slavery there, but that all he will do is to fight slavery in Kentucky from Illinois. He will not go over there to set fire to the match. I do not think he would. Mr. Lincoln is a very prudent man. He would not deem it wise to go over into Kentucky to stir up strife, but would do it from this side of the river. Permit me to inquire whether the wrong, the outrage, of interference by one State with the local concerns of another is worse when you actually invade them than it would be if you carried on the warfare from another State? For the purpose of illustration, suppose the British government

should plant a battery on Niagra River opposite Buffalo, and throw their shells over into Buffalo, where they would explode and blow up the houses and destroy the town. We call the British Government to an account, and they say, in the language of Mr. Lincoln. We did not enter into the limits of the United States to interfere with you; we planted the battery on our soil; and if our shells and balls fell in Buffalo and killed your inhabitants, why, it is your lookout, not ours. Thus, Mr. Lincoln is going to plant his abolition batteries along the banks of the Ohio River and throw his shells into Virginia and Kentucky and into Missouri, and blow up the institution of slavery; and when we arraign him for his unjust interference with the institutions of the other States, he says, why, I never did enter into Kentucky to interfere with her; I do not propose to do it; I only propose to take care of my own head by keeping on this side of the river, out of harm's way. But yet he says he is going to preserve Union in this system of sectional warfare and I have no doubt he is sincere in what he says. He says that the existence of the Union pends upon success in firing his into these slave States until he exterminates them. He says that unless he shall play his batteries successfulabolish slavery in every one of the ly so as to States that the Union shall be dissolved; and he says that a dissolution of the Union would be a

terrible calamity. Of course it would. We are all friends of the Union. We all believe-I do-that our lives, our liberties, our hopes in the future, depend upon the preservation and perpetuity of this glorious Union. I believe that the hopes of the friends of liberty throughout the world depend upon the perpetuity of the American Union. But while I believe that, my mode of preserving the Union is a very different one from that of Mr. Lincoln: believe that the Union can only be preserved by maintaining inviolate the Constitution of the United States as our fathers have made it. That Constitution guarantees to the people of every state the right to have slavery or not have it; to have negroes or not have them; to have Maine liquor laws or not to have them; to have just such institutions as they choose, each State being left free to decide for itself. The framers of that Constitution never conceived the idea that uniformity in the Domestic institutions of the different States was either desirable or possible. They well understood that the laws and institutions which would be well adapted to the granite hills of New Hampshire would be unfit for the rice plantations of South Carolina; they well understood that each one of the thirteen States had distinct and separate local laws and local institutions. And in view of that fact they provided that each state should retain its sovereign power within its own limits, with the right to make just such

laws and just such institutions as it saw proper, under the belief that no two of them would be alike If they had supposed that uniformity was desirable and possible, why did they not provide for a separate Legislature for each State? Why did they not blot out State Sovereignty and State Legislatures, and give all the power to Congress, in order that the laws might be uniform? For the very reason that uniformity, in their opinion, was neither desirable nor possible. We have increased from States to thirty-two States; and just in proportion as the number of States increases and our territory expands, there will be a still greater variety and dissimilarity of climate, of production, and of interest, requiring a corresponding dissimilarity and variety in the local laws and institutions adapted thereto. The laws that are necessary in the mining regions of California would be totally useless and vicious on the prairies of Illinois, the laws that would suit the lumber regions of Maine or of Minnesota would be totally useless and valueless in the tobacco regions of Virginia and Kentucky; the laws which would suit the manufacturing districts of New England would be totally unsuited to the planting regions of the Carolinas, of Georgia and of Louisiana. Each State is supposed to have interests separate and distinct from each and every other State, in order that its laws shall be adapted to the condition and necessities of the people. Hence I

insist that our institutions rest on the theory that there shall be dissimilarity and variety in the local laws and institutions of the different States, instead of all being uniform; and you find, my friends, that Mr. Lincoln and myself differ radically and totally on the fundamental principles of this government. He goes for consolidation, for uniformity in our local institutions, for blotting out State rights and State sovereignty, and consolidating all the power in the Federal Government, for converting these thirty-two sovereign States into one empire, and making uniformity throughout the length and breadth of the land. On the other hand, I go for maintaining and preserving the sovereignty of each and all of the States of the Union, in order that each State may regulate and adopt its own local institutions in its own way, without interference from any power whatsoever. Thus you find there is a distinct issue of principles—principles irreconcilable—between Mr. Lincoln and myself. He goes for consolidation and uniformity in our government; I go for maintaining the confederation of the sovereign States under the Constitution as our fathers made it, leaving each State at liberty to manage its own affairs and own internal institutions.

Mr. Lincoln makes another point upon me, and rests his whole case upon these two points. His last point is, that he will wage a warfare upon the Supreme Court of the United States because of the Dred Scott decision. He takes occasion in his speech made before the Republican Convention in my absence to arraign me not only for having expressed my acquiescence in that decision, but to charge me with being a conspirator with that court in devising that decision three years before Dred Scott ever thought of commencing a suit for his freedom. The object of his speech was to convey the idea to the people that the court could not be trusted; that they were all conspirators in bringing about that corrupt decision, to which Mr. Lincoln is determined he will never yield a willing obedience.

He makes two points upon the Dred Scott decision. The first is that he objects to it because the court decided that negroes descended of slave parents are not citizens of the United States; and secondly, because they have decided that the act of Congress, passed 8th of March, 1820, prohibiting slavery in all of the Territories north of 36 degrees 30 mins. was unconstitutional and void, and hence did not have effect in emancipating a slave brought into that Territory. And he will not submit to that decision. He says that he will not fight the Judges or the United States Marshals in order to liberate Dred Scott, but that he will not respect that decision, as a rule of law binding on this country in the future. Why not? Because, he says, it is unjust. How is he going to remedy it? Why, he says he is going to reverse it. How? He is going to take an appeal. To

whom is he going to appeal? The Constitution of the United States provides that the Supreme Court is the ultimate tribunal, the highest judicial tribunal on earth, and Mr. Lincoln is going to appeal from that to whom? I know he appealed to the Republican State Convention of Illinois, and I believe that Convention reversed the decision, but I am not aware that they have yet carried it into effect. How are they going to make that reversal effectual? Why, Mr. Lincoln tells us in his late Chicago speech. He explains it as clear as light. He says to the people of Illinois that if you elect him to the Senate he will introduce a bill to re-enact the law which the Court pronounced unconstitutional. (Shouts of laughter, and voices, "Spot the law"). Yes, he is going to spot the law. The court pronounces that law, prohibiting slavery, unconstitutional and void, and Mr. Lincoln is going to pass an act reversing that decision and making it valid. I never before heard of an appeal being taken from the Supreme Court to the Congress of the United States to reverse its decision. I have heard of appeals being taken from Congress to the Supreme Court to declare a statute void. That has been done from the earliest days of Chief Justice Marshall, down to the present time.

The Supreme Court of Illinois do not hesitate to pronounce an act of the Legislature void, as being repugnant to the Constitution, and the Supreme Court of the United States is vested by the Constitu-

tion with that power. The Constitution says that the Judicial power of the United States shall be vested in the Supreme Court, and such inferior courts as Congress shall, from time to time, ordain and establish. Hence it is the province and duty of the Supreme Court to pronounce judgment on the validity and constitutionality of an act of Congress. In this case they have done so, and Mr. Lincoln will not submit to it, and he is going to reverse it by another act of Congress of the same tenor. My opinion is that Mr. Lincoln ought to be on the Supreme bench himself, when the Republicans get into power if that kind of law knowledge qualifies a man for the bench. But Mr. Lincoln intimates that there is another mode by which he can reverse the Dred Scott decision. How is that ? Why, he is going to appeal to the people to elect a President who will appoint judges who will reverse the Dred Scott decision. Well, let us see how that is done. First, he has to carry on his sectional organization, a party confined to the free States, making war upon the slave holding States, until he gets a Republican President elected. ["He never will, sir."] I do not believe he ever will. But suppose he should; when that Republican President shall have taken his seat (Mr. Seward, for instance,) will he then proceed to appoint judges? No! he will have to wait until the present judges die before he can do that, and perhaps his four years would be out before a majority of these judges found it agreeable to die; and it is very possible, too, that Mr. Lincoln's senatorial term would expire before these judges would be accommodating enough to die. If it should so happen I do not see a very great prospect for Mr. Lincoln to reverse the Dred Scott decision. But suppose they should die, then how are the new judges to be appointed? Why, the Republican President is to call upon the candidates and catechise them, and ask them, "How will you decide this case if I appoint you judge?" Suppose, for instance, Mr. Lincoln to be a candidate for a vacancy on the supreme bench to fill Chief Justice Taney's place, and when he applied to Seward, the latter would say, "Mr. Lincoln, I cannot appoint you until I know how you will decide the Dred Scott case?" Mr. Lincoln tells him, and then asks him how he will decide Tom Jones's cast and Bill Wilson's case, and thus catechises the judge as to how he will decide any case which may arise before him. Suppose you get a Supreme Court composed of such judges, who have been appointed by a partisan President upon giving pledges how they would decide a case before it arose, what confidence would you have in such a court?

Would not your court be prostituted beneath the contempt of all mankind? What man would feel that his liberties were safe, his right of person or property was secure, if the supreme bench, that

august tribunal, the highest on earth, was brought down to that low, dirty pool wherein the judges are to give pledges in advance how they will decide all questions which may be brought before them? It is a proposition to make that court the corrupt, unscrupulous tool of a political party. But Mr. Lincoln cannot conscientiously submit, he thinks, to the decision of a court composed of a majority of Democrats. If he cannot, how can he expect us to have confidence in a court composed of a majority of Republicans, selected for the purpose of deciding the against Democracy and in favor of the Republicans? The very proposition carries with it the democralization and degradation destructive of the judicial department of the Federal Government.

I say to you, fellow citizens, that I have no warfare to make upon the Supreme Court because of the Dred Scott decision. I have no complaints to make against that court, because of that decision. My private opinion on some points of the case may have been one way and on other points of the case another; in some things concurring with the court and in others dissenting, but what have my private opinions in a question of law to do with the decision after it has been pronounced by the highest judicial tribunal known to the Constitution? You, sir [addressing the chairman], as an eminent lawyer, have a right to entertain your opinions on any question that comes before the court and to appear before

the tribunal and maintain them boldly and with tenacity until the final decision shall have been pronounced, and then, sir, whether you are sustained or overruled your duty as a lawyer and a citizen is to bow in deference to that decision. I intend to vield obedience to the decisions of the highest tribunals in the land in all cases whether their opinions are in conformity with my views as a lawyer or not. When we refuse to abide by judicial decisions what protection is there left for life and property? To whom shall you appeal? To mob law, to partisan caucuses, to town meetings, to revolution? I will not stop to inquire whether I agree or disagree with all the opinions expressed by Judge Taney or any other judge. It is enough for me to know that the decision has been made. It has been made by a tribunal appointed by the Constitution to make it; it was a point within their jurisdiction, and I am bound by it.

But, my friends, Mr. Lincoln says that this Dred Scott decision destroys the doctrine of popular sovereignty, for the reason that the court has decided that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the Territories, and hence he infers that it would decide that the Territorial Legislatures could not prohibit slavery there. I will not stop to inquire whether the court will carry the decision that far or not. It would be interesting as a matter of theory, but of no importance in practice; for this reason, that

if the people of a Territory want slavery they will have it, and if they do not want it they will drive it out, and you cannot force it on them. Slavery cannot exist a day in the midst of an unfriendly people with unfriendly laws. There is truth and wisdom in a remark made to me by an eminent Senator, when speaking of this technical right to take slaves into the Territories. Said he, "I do not care a fig which way the decision shall be, for it is of no particular consequence; slavery cannot exist a day or an hour in any Territory or State unless it has affirmative laws sustaining and supporting it, furnishing police regulations and remedies, and an omission to furnish them would be fatal as a constitutional prohibition. Without affirmative legislation in its favor slavery could not exist any longer than a new-born infant could survive under the heat of the sun, on a barren rock, with out protection. It would wilt and die for the want of support." So it would be in the Territories. See the illustration in Kansas. The Republicans have told you during the whole history of that Territory, down to last winter, that the pro-slavery party in the Legislature had passed a pro-slavery code, establishing and sustaining slavery in Kansas, but that this pro-slavery Legislature did not truly represent the people, but was imposed upon them by an invasion from Missouri, and hence the Legislature were only one way and the people

another. Granting all this, and what has been the result? With laws supporting slavery, but the people against, there are not as many slaves in Kansas today as there were on the day the Nebraska bill passed and the Missouri Compromise was repealed. Why? Simply because slave owners knew that if they took their slaves into Kansas, where a majority of the people were opposed to slavery that it would soon be abolished, and they would lose their right of property in consequence of taking them there. For that reason they would not take or keep them there. If there had been a majority of the people in favor of slavery and the climate had been favorable, they would have taken them there, but the climate not being suitable, the interest of the people being opposed to it, and a majority of them against it, the slave owner did not find it profitable to take his slaves there, and consequently there are not as many slaves there today as on the day the Missouri Compromise was repealed. This shows clearly that if the people do not want slavery they will keep it out, and if they do want it they will protect it.

You have a good illustration of this in the territorial history of this State. You all remember that by the ordinance of 1787, slavery was prohibited in Illinois, yet you all know, particularly you old settlers, who were here in territorial times, that the Territorial Legislature, in defiance of that ordinance, passed a law allowing you to go into Kentucky, buy slaves

and bring them into the Territory, having them sign indentures to serve you and your posterity ninetynine years, and their posterity thereafter to do the same. This heriditary slavery was introduced in defiance of an act of Congress. On the other hand, if the people of a Territory are hostile to slavery they will drive it out. Consequently this theoretical question raised upon the Dred Scott decision, is worthy of no consideration whatsoever, for it is only brought into these political discussions and used as a hobby upon which to ride into office, or out of which to manufacture political capital.

But Mr. Lincoln's main objection to the Dred Scott decision I have reserved for my conclusion. His principal objection to that decision is that it was intended to deprive the negro of the rights of citizenship in the different States of the union. Well, suppose it was, and there is no doubt that that was its legal effect, that is the objection to it? Why, he thinks that a negro ought to be permitted to have the rights of citizenship. He is in favor of negro citizenship, and opposed to the Dred Scott decision, because it declares that a negro is not a citizen, and hence is not entitled to vote. Here I have a direct issue with Mr. Lincoln. I am not in favor of negro citizenship. I do not believe that a negro is a citizen or ought to be a citizen. I believe that this Government of ours was founded, upon the white basis. It was made by white men for the benefit

of white men and their posterity, to be executed and managed by white men. I freely concede that humanity requires us to extend all protection, all the privileges, all the immunities to the Indian and the negro which they are capable of enjoying consistent with the safety of society. You may then ask me what are those rights, what is the nature and extent of the rights which a negro ought to have? My answer is that this is a question for each State and each Territory to decide for itself. In Illinois we have decided that a negro is not a slave, but we have at the same time determined that he is not a citizen and shall not enjoy political rights. I concur in the wisdom of that policy and am content with it. I assert that the sovereignty of Illinois had a right to determine that question as we have decided it, and I deny that any other State has a right to interfere with us or call us to account for that decision. In the State of Maine they have decided by their Constitution that the negro shall exercise the elective franchise and hold office on an equality with the white Whilst I do not concur in the good sense or correct taste of that decision on the part of Maine, I have no disposition to quarrel with her. It is her business and not ours. If the people of Maine desire to be put on an equality with the negro, I do not know that anybody in this State will attempt to prevent it. If the white people of Maine think a negro their equal, and that he has a right to come and kill

their vote by a negro vote, they have a right to think so, I suppose, and I have no disposition to interfere with them. Then, again, passing over to New York, we find in that State they have provided that a negro may vote provided he holds \$250.00 worth of property, but that he shall not unless he does; that is to say, they will allow a negro to vote if he is rich, but a poor fellow they will not allow to vote. In New York they think a rich negro is equal to a white man. Well, that is a matter of taste with them. If they think so in that State, and do not carry the doctrine outside of it and propose to interfere with us, I have no quarrel to make with them. It is their business. There is a great deal of philosophy and good sense in the saying of Fridley of Kane. Fridley had a law-suit before a justice of the peace and the justice decided it against him. This he did not like, and standing up and looking at the justice for a moment, "Well, Squire", said he, "if a man choose to make a darnation fool of himself I suppose there is no law against it". That is all I have to say about these negro regulations and this negro voting in other States where they have systems different from ours. If it is their wish to have it so. be it so. There is no cause to complain. tucky has decided that it is not consistent with her safety and her prosperity to allow a negro to have either political rights or his freedom, and hence she

makes him a slave. That is her business, not mine. It is her right under the Constitution of the country. The sovereignty of Kentucky, and that alone, can decide that question, and when she decides it there is no power on earth to which you can appeal to reverse it. Therefore, leave Kentucky as the Constitution has left her, sovereign, independent State, with the exclusive right to have slavery or not, as she chooses, and so long as I hold power I will maintain and defend her rights against any assaults from whatsoever quarter they may come.

I will never stop to inquire whether I approve or disapprove of the domestic institutions of a State. I maintain her sovereign rights. I defend her sovereignty from all assault, in the hope that she will join in defending us when we are assailed by any outside power. How are we to protect our sovereign rights, to keep slavery out, unless we protect the sovereign rights to every other State to decide the question for itself. Let Kentucky, or South Carolina, or any other State attempt to interfere in Illinois, and tell us that we shall establish slavery, in order to make it uniform, according to Mr. Lincoln's proposition, throughout the Union; let them come here and tell us that we must and shall have slavery, and I will call on you to follow me, and shed the last drop of our heart's blood in repelling the invasion and chastising their insolence. And if we would fight for our reserved rights and sovereign power in our own limits, we must respect the sovereignty of each other State.

Hence, you find that Mr. Lincoln and myself come to a direct issue on whole doctrine of slavery. He is going to wage war against it everywhere, not only in Illinois, but in his native State of Kentucky. And why? Because he says that the Declaration of Independence contains this language: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness," and he asks whether that instrument does not declare that all men are created equal. Mr. Lincoln then goes on to say that that clause of the Declaration of Independence includes negroes. [I say not.] Well, if you say not, I do not think you will vote for Mr. Mr. Lincoln goes on to argue that the language "all men" included the negroes, Indians, and all inferior races.

In his Chicago speech he says, in so many words, that it includes the negroes, that they were endowed by the Almighty with the right of equality with the white man, and therefore that that right is Divine—a right under the higher law; that the law of God makes them equal to the white man, and therefore that the law of the white man cannot deprive them of that right. This is Mr. Lincoln's argument. He is conscientious in his belief. I

do not question his sincerety, I do not think that the negro is any kin of mine at And here is the difference between us. I believe that the Declaration of Independence, in the words "all men are created equal," was intended to allude only to the people of the United States, to the men of European birth or descent, being white men, that they were created equal and hence that Great Britian had no right to deprive them of their political and religious privileges; but the signers of that paper did not intend to include the Indian or the negro in that declaration, for if they had would they not have been bound to abolish slavery in every State and Colony from that day. Remember, too, that at the time the Declaration was put forth, every one of the thirteen colonies were slave-holding colonies; every man who signed that Declaration represented slave-holding constitutents. Did those signers mean by that act to charge themselves, and all their constituents with having violated the law of God, in holding the negro in an inferior condition to the white man? And yet, if they included negroes in that term, they were bound, as conscientious men, that day and that hour, not only to have abolished slavery throughout the land, but to have conferred political rights and privileges on the negro, and elevated him to an equality with the white man. [They did not do it.] I know they did not do it, and the very fact that they did not shows that

they did not understand the language they used to include any but the white race. Did they mean to say that the Indian, on this continent, was created equal to the white man, and that he was endowed by the Almighty with inalienable rights—rights so sacred that they could not be taken way by any Constitution or law that man could pass? Why, their whole action toward the Indian showed that they never dreamed that they were bound to put him on an equality. I am opposed to putting the coolies, now importing into this country, on an equality with us, or putting the Chinese or any inferior race on an equality with us. I hold that the white race, the European race, I care not whether Irish, German, French, Scotch, English, or to what nation they belong, so they are the white race, to be our equals. And I am for placing them, as our fathers did, on an equality with us. Emigrants from Europe, and their descendants, constitute the people of the United States. The Declaration of Independence only included the white people of the United States. The Constitution of the United States was framed by the white people. It ought to be administered by them, leaving each State to make such regulations concerning the negro as it chooses, allowing him political rights or not, as it chooses, and allowing him civil rights or not, as it may determine for itself

Let us carry out those principles, and we will

have peace and harmony in the different States. But Mr. Lincoln's concientious scruples on this point govern his actions, and I honor him for following them, although I abhor the doctrine which he preaches. His concientious scruples lead him to believe that the negro is entitled by Divine right to the civil and political privileges of citizenship on an equality with the white man.

For that reason he says he wishes the Dred Scott decision reversed. He wishes to confer those privileges of citizenship on the negro. Let us see how he will do it. He will first be called upon to strike out of the Constitution of Illinois that clause which prohibits free negroes and slaves from Kentucky or any other State coming into Illinois. When he blots out that clause, when he lets down the door or opens the gate for all the negro population to flow in and cover our prairies, until in midday they will look dark and black as night; when he shall have done this, his mission will yet be unfilled. Then it will be that he will apply his principles of negro equality, that is if he can get the Dred Scott decision reversed in the meantime. He will change the Constitution again, and allow them to vote to elect the Legislature, the Judges and the Governor, and will make them eligible to the office of Judge or Governor, or to the Legislature. He will put them on an equality with the white man. What then? Of course, after making them eligible to the

judiciary, when he gets Cuffee elevated to the bench, he certainly will not refuse his judge the privilege of marrying any woman he may select! I submit to you whether these are not the legitimate consequences of his doctrine? If it be true, as he says, that by the Declaration of Independence and by Divine law, the negro is created the equal of the white man; if it be true that the Dred Scott decision is unjust and wrong, because it deprives the negro of citizenship and equality with the white man, then does it not follow that if he had the power he would make negroes citizens, and give them all the rights and all the privileges of citizenship on an equality with the white men? I think that is the inevitable conclusion. I do not doubt Mr. Lincoln's conscientious conviction on the subject, and I do not doubt that he will carry out that doctrine if he has the power; but I resist it because I am utterly opposed to any political amalgamation or any other amalgamation on this continent. We are witnessing the result of giving civil and political rights to inferior races in Mexico, in Central America, in South America, and in the West India Islands. Those young men who went from here to Mexico, to fight the battles of their country in the Mexican war, can tell you the fruits of negro equality with the white man. They will tell you that the result of that equality is social amalgamation, demoralization, and degradation, below the capacity of self government.

My friends, if we wish to preserve this government we must maintain it on the basis which was established, to-wit: the white basis. We must preserve the purity of the race not only in our politics but in our domestic relations. We must preserve the sovereignty of the States, and we must maintain the Federal Union by preserving the Federal Constitution inviolate. Let us do that, and our Union will not only be perpetual but may expand until it shall spread over the entire continent. Fellow-citizens, I have already detained you too long. I have exhausted myself and wearied you, and owe you an apology for the desultory manner in which I have discussed these topics. I will have an opportunity of addressing you again before the November election comes off. I come to you to appeal to your judgment as American citizens, to take your verdict of approval or disapproval upon the discharge of my public duties and my principles as compared with those of Mr. Lincoln. If you conscientiously believe that his principles are more in harmony with the feelings of the American people and the interests and honor of the Republic, elect him. If, on the contrary, you believe that my principles are more consistent with those great principles upon which our fathers framed this Government, then I shall ask you to so express your opinion at the polls. I am aware that it is a bitter and severe contest, but I do not doubt what the decision of the people of

Illinois will be. I do not anticipate any personal collision between Mr.Lincoln and myself. You all know that I am an amiable, good-natured man, and I take great pleasure in bearing testimony to the fact that Mr. Lincoln is a kind-hearted, amiable, good-natured gentleman, with whom no man has a right to pick a quarrel, even if he wanted one. He is a worthy gentleman. I have known him for twenty-five years, and there is no better citizen, and no kinder-hearted man. He is a fine lawyer, possesses high ability, and there is no objection to him, except the monstrous revolutionary doctrines with which he is identified and which he conscientiously entertains, and is determined to carry out if he gets the power. He has one element of strength upon which he relies to accomplish his object, that his alliance with certain men in this state claiming to be Democrats, whose avowed object is to use their power to prostrate the Democratic nominees. He hopes he can secure the few men claiming to be friends of the Lecompton Constitution or its supporters. He is as silent as the grave upon that subject. Behold Mr. Lincoln courting Lecompton votes, in order that he may go to the Senate as the representative of Republican principles! You know that that alliance exists. I think you will find that it will ooze out before the contest is over. It must be a contest of principle. Either the radical abolition principles of Mr. Lincoln must be maintained, or the strong, constitutional,

national Democratic principles with which I am identified must be carried out. I shall be satisfied whatever way you decide. I have been sustained by the people of Illinois with a steadiness, a firmness and an enthusiasm which makes my heart overflow with gratitude. If I was now to be consigned to private life, I would have nothing to complain of. I would even then owe you a debt of gratitude which the balance of my life could not repay. But, my friends, you have discharged every obligation you owe to me. I have been a thousand times paid by the welcome you have extended to me since I have entered the State on my return home this time. Your reception not only discharges all obligations, but it furnishes inducement to renewed efforts to serve you in the future. If you think Mr. Lincoln will do more to advance the interests and elevate the character of Illinois than myself, it is your duty to elect him; if you think he would do more to preserve the peace of the country and perpetuate the Union than myself, then elect him. I leave the question in your hands, and again tender you my profound thanks for the cordial and heart-felt welcome tendered to me this evening.

Speech of Honorable Abraham Lincoln Delivered in Springfield, Saturday evening, July 17th, 1858

(Mr. Douglas was not present.) Fellow Citizens: Another election, which is

deemed an important one, and, as I suppose, the Republican party will, without much difficulty elect their State ticket. But in regard to the Legislature, we, the Republicans, labor under some disadvantages. In the first place, we have a Legislature to elect upon an apportionment of representation made several years ago, when the proportion of the population was far greater in the South (as compared with the North) than it now is; and inasmuch as our opponents hold almost entire sway in the South, and we are a correspondingly large majority in the North, the fact that we are now represented as we were years ago, when the population was different, is to us, a very great loss. We had in the year 1856, according to law, an enumeration of the inhabitants, taken for the purpose of a new apportionment of representation. We know what a fair apportionment of representation upon that would give us. We know that it could not, if fairly made, fail to give to the Republican party from six to ten more members of the Legislature than they can probably get as the law now stands. It so happened at the last session of the Legislature, that our opponents, holding the control of both branches of the Legislature, steadily refused to give us such an apportionment as we were rightly entitled to have upon the census already taken. Legislature steadily refused to give us such an apportionment as we were rightly entitled to have upon

the census taken of the population of the State. The Legislature would pass no bill upon that subject, except such as was at least unfair to us as the old one, and in some instances, two men in the Democratic regions were allowed to go as far toward sending a member to the Legislature as three were in the Republican regions. Comparison was made at the time as to representative and senatorial districts, which completely demonstrated that such was the fact. Such a bill was passed and tendered to the Republican Governor for his signature; but principally for the reasons stated, he withheld his approval, and the bill fell without becoming a law.

Another disadvantage under which we labor is, that there are one or two Democrat Senators who will be members of the next Legislature, and will vote for the election of Senator, who are holding over in districts in which we could, on all reasonable calculation, elect men of our own, if we only had the chance of an election. When we consider only twenty-five Senators in the Senate, taking two from the side where they rightfully belong and adding them to the other, is to us a disadvantage not to be lightly regarded. Still, so it is; we have this to contend with. Perhaps there is no ground of complaint on our part. In attending to the many things involved in the last general election for President, Governor, Auditor, Treasurer, Superintendent

of Public Instruction, Members of Congress, of the Legislature, County Officers, and so on, we allowed these things to happen by want of sufficient attention, and we have no cause to complain of our adversaries, so far as this matter is concerned. But we have to complain of the refusal to give us a fair apportionment.

There is still another disadvantage under which I will ask your attention. It arises out of the relative positions of the two persons who stand before the State as candidates for the Senate. Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships and cabinet appointments, chargeships foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphal entries, and receptions beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever

expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages all, taken together, that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle, and upon principle alone. I am, in a certain sense made the standard-bearer in behalf of the Republicans. I was made so merely because there had to be some one so placed—I being in nowise preferable to any other one of the twenty five—perhaps a hundred we have in the Republican ranks. Then I say I wish it to be distinctly understood and borne in mind, that we have to fight this battle without many-perhaps without any—of the external aids which are brought to bear against us. So I hope those with whom I am surrounded have principle enough to nerve themselves for the task and leave nothing undone, that can be fairly done, to bring about the right result.

After Senator Douglas left Washington, as his movements were made known by the public prints, he tarried a considerable time in the city of New York; and it was heralded that, like another Napoleon, he was lying by and framing the plan of his campaign. It was telegraphed to Washington City, and published in the Union, that he was framing his plan for the purpose of going to Illinois to pounce upon and annihilate the treasonable and disunion speech Lincoln had made here

on the 16th of June. Now, I do suppose that the Judge really spent some time in New York maturing the plan of campaign, as his friends hearlded for him. I have been able, by noting his movements since his arrival in Illinois, to discover evidences confirming of that allegation, I have been able to see what are the material points of that plan. I will, for a little while, ask your attention to some of them. What I shall point out, though not showing the whole plan, are, nevertheless, the main points, as I suppose.

They are not very numerous. The first is popular Sovereignty. The second and third are attacks upon my speech made on the 16th of June. Out of these three points—drawing within the range of popular sovereignty the question of the Lecompton Constitution—he makes his principal assault. Upon these his successive speeches are one and the same—On this matter of popular sovereignty I wish to be careful. Auxiliary to these main points, to be sure, are their thunderings of cannon, their marching and music, their fizzle-gigs and fire-works: but I will not waste time with them. They are but the little trappings of the campaign.

Coming now to the substance—the first point—
"popular sovereignty." It is to be labeled upon
the cars in which he travels; put upon the hacks he
rides in; to be flaunted upon the arches he passes
under, and the banners which wave over him. It
is to be dished up in as many varieties as a French

cook can produce soups from potatoes. Now, as this is so great a staple of the plan of the campaign, it is worth while to examine it carefully; and if we examine only a very little, and not allow ourselves to be misled, we shall see that the whole thing is the most arrant Quixotism that was ever enacted before a community. What is the matter of popular sovereignty? The first thing, in order to understand it, is to get a good definition of what it is, and after that to see how it is applied.

I suppose almost every one knows that, in this controversy, whatever has been said has had reference to the question of negro slavery. We have not been in a controversy about the right of the people to govern themselves in the ordinary matters of domestic concern in the States and Territories, Mr. Buchanan, in one of his late messages (I think when he sent up the Lecompton Constitution), urged that the main points to which the public attention had been directed, was not in regard to the great variety of small domestic matters, but was directed to the question of negro slavery; and he asserts, that if the people had a fair chance to vote on that question, there was no reasonable ground of objection in regard to minor questions. Now, while I think that the people had not had given, or offered them a fair chance upon that slavery question; still if there had been a fair submission to vote upon the main question, the President's proposition would have

been true to the uttermost. Hence, when hereafter I speak of popular sovereignty, I wish to be understood as applying what I say to the question of slavery only, not to other minor domestic matters of a Territory or State.

Does judge Douglas, when he says that several of the past years of his life have been devoted to the question of "popular sovereignty," and that all the remainder of his life shall be devoted to it, does he mean to say that he has been devoting his life to securing to the people of the Territories the right to exclude slavery from the Territories? If he means so to say, he means to deceive; because he and everyone knows that the decision of the Supreme court, which he approves and makes special ground for attack upon me for disapproving, forbids the people of a Territory to exclude slavery. This covers the whole ground, from the settlement of a Territory till it reaches the degree of maturity entitling it to form a State Constitution. So far as all that ground is concerned, the Judge is not sustaining popular sovereignty, but absolutely opposing it. sustains the decision which declares that the popular will of the Territories has no constitutional power to exclude slavery during their territorial existence. This being so, the period of time from the settlement of a Territory till it reaches the point of forming a State Constitution, is not the thing that the Judge has fought for, the thing that

annihilates and crushes out that same popular sovereignty.

Well, so much being disposed of, what is left? Why, he is contending for the right of the people when they come to make a State Constitution, to make it for themselves, and precisely as best suits themselves. I say again, that is 'Quixotic. I defy contradiction when I declare that the Judge can find no one to oppose him on that proposition. I repeat there is nobody opposing that proposition on principle. Let me not be misunderstood. I know that, with reference to the Lecompton Constitution. I may be misunderstood; but when you understand me correctly, my proposition will be true and accurate. Nobody is opposing, or has opposed, the right of the people, when they form a constitution to form it for themselves. Mr. Buchanan and his friends have not done it; they, too, as well as the Republicans and the anti-Lecompton Democrats, have not done it; but, on the contrary, they together have insisted on the right of the people to form a Constitution for themselves. The difference between the Buchanan men on the one hand. and the Douglas men and the Republicans on the other, has not been on a question of principle, but on a question of fact.

The dispute was upon the question of fact, whether, the Lecompton Constitution had been fairly formed by the people or not. Mr. Buchanan and his

friends have not contended for the contrary principle any more than the Douglas men or the Republicans. They have insisted that whatever of small irregularities existed in getting up the Lecompton Constitution, were such as happen in the settlement of all new Territories. The question was, was it a fair emanation of the people? It was a question of fact and not of principle. As to the principle, all were agreed. Judge Douglas voted with the Republicans upon that matter of fact.

He and they, by their voices and votes, denied that it was a fair emanation of the people. The Administration affirmed that it was. With respect to the evidence bearing upon that question of fact, I readily see that Judge Douglas and the Republicans had the right on their side, and the administration was wrong. But I state again that as a matter of principle, there is no dispute upon the right of a people in a Territory, merging into a State to form a Constitution for themselves without interference from any quarter. This being so, what is Judge Douglas going to spend his life for? Is he going to spend his life in maintaining a principle that nobody opposes? Does he expect to stand up in majestic dignity, and go through his apotheosis and become a god, in the maintaining of a principle which neither man nor mouse in all God's creation is opposing? Now something in regard to the Lecompton Constitution more specially; for I pass from

this other question of popular sovereignty as the most arrant humbug that has ever been attempted on an intelligent community.

As to the Lecompton Constitution, I have already said that on the question of fact as to whether it was a fair emanation of the people or not, Judge Douglas with the Republicans and some Americans had greatly the argument against the Administration; and while I repeat this, I wish to know what there is in the opposition of Judge Douglas to the Lecompton Constitution that entitles him to be considered the only opponent to it—as being par excellence the very quintessence of that opposition. I agree to the rightfulness of his opposition. the Senate and his class of men there formed the number three and no more. In the House of Representatives his class of men—the Anti-Lecompton Democrats—formed a number of about twenty. It took one hundred and twenty to defeat the measure, against one hundred and twelve. Of the votes of that one hundred and twenty, Judge Douglas's friends furnished twenty, to add to which there were six Americans and ninety-four Republicans. I do not know that I am precisely accurate in their numbers, but I am sufficiently so for any use I am making of it.

Why is it that twenty shall be entitled to all the credit of doing that work, and the hundred none of it? Why, if, as Judge Douglas says, the honor is

to be divided and due credit is to be given to other parties, why is it just so much given as is consonant with his wishes, the interests and advancement of the twenty? My understanding is, when a common job is done, or a common enterprise prosecuted, if I put in five dollars to your one, I have a right to take out five dollars to your one. But he does not so understand it. He declares the dividend of credit for defeating Lecompton upon a basis which seems unprecedented and incomprehensible.

Let us see. Lecompton in the raw was defeated. It afterward took a sort of cooked up shape, and was passed in the English bill. It is said by the Judge that the defeat was a good and proper thing. If it was a good thing, why is he entitled to more credit than others, for the performance of that good act, unless there was something in the antecedents of the Republicans that might induce every one to expect them to join in that good work, and at the same time, something leading them to doubt that he would? Does he place his superior claim to credit, on the ground that he performed a good act which was never expected of him? I have a proneness for quoting scripture. If I should do so now, it occurs that perhaps he places himself somewhat upon the ground of the parable of the lost sheep which went astray upon the mountains, and when the owner of the hundred sheep found the one that was lost, and threw it upon his shoulders, and came home rejoicing, it was said that there was more rejoicing over the one sheep that was lost and had been found than over the ninety and nine in the fold. The application is made by the Saviour in this parable, thus: "Verily, I say unto you there is more rejoicing in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, than over ninety and nine persons that need no repentance."

And now, if the Judge claims the benefit of this parable, *let him repent*. Let him not come up here and say: "I am the only just person; and you are the ninety-nine sinners." Repentance before forgiveness is a provision of the Christian system, and on that condition alone will the Republicans grant his forgiveness.

How will he prove that we have ever occupied a different position in regard to the Lecompton Constitution or any principle in it? He says he did not make his opposition on the ground as to whether it was a free or slave Constitution, and he would have you understand that the Republicans made their opposition because it ultimately became a slave Constitution. To make proof in favor of himself on this point, he reminds us that he opposed Lecompton before the vote was taken declaring whether the State was to be free or slave. But he forgets to say that our Republican Senator, Trumbul, made a speech against Lecompton even before he did.

Why did he oppose it? Partly, as he declares, because the members of the Constitution who framed it were not fairly elected by the people; that the people were not all allowed to vote unless they had been registered; and that the people of whole counties, in some instances, were not registered. For these reasons he declares the Constitution was not an emanation, in any true sense, from the people. He also has an additional objective as to the mode of submitting the Constitution back to the people. But bearing on the question of whether the delegates were fairly elected, a speech of his, made something more than twelve months ago, from this stand, becomes important. It was made a little while before the election of the delegates who made Lecompton. In that speech he declared there was every reason to hope and believe the election would be fair; and if anyone failed to vote, it would be his own culpable fault.

I, a few days after, made a sort of answer to that speech. In that answer, I made, substantially, the very argument with which he combatted his Lecompton adversaries in the Senate last winter. I pointed to the facts that the people could not vote without being registered, and that the time for registering had gone by. I commented on it as wonderful that Judge Douglas could be ignorant of these facts, which every one else in the nation so well knew.

I now pass from popular sovereignty and Lecompton. I may have occasion to refer to one or both.

When he was planning his campaign, Napoleonlike, in New York, as appears by two speeches I have heard him deliver a speech since his arrival in Illinois, he gave special attention to the speech of mine, delivered here on the 16th of June last. He says that he carefully read that speech. told us that at Chicago a week ago last night, and he repeated it at Bloomington last night. Doubtless, he repeated it again today, though I did not hear him. In the two first places I heard him; today I did not. He said he had carefully examined that speech; when, he did not say; but there is no reasonable doubt it was when he was in Chicago and Bloomington and New York preparing his plan of campaign. I am glad he did read it carefully. He says it was evidently prepared with great care. I freely admit it was prepared with care. I claim not to be more free from errors than others—perhaps scarcely so much; but I was only careful not to put anything in that speech as a matter of fact, or make any inferences which did not appear to me to be true, and fully warrantable. If I had made a mistake I was willing to be corrected; if I had drawn any inference in regard to Douglas, or anyone else, which was not warranted, I was fully prepared to modify it as soon as discovered. I planted myself on the truth and the truth only, so far as I knew it, or could be brought to know it.

Having made that speech with the most kindly feelings toward Judge Douglas as manifested therein, I was gratified when I found that he had carefully examined it, and had detected no error of fact, nor any inference against him, nor any misrepresentations, of which he thought fit to complain. In neither of the two speeches I have mentioned, did he make any such complaint. I will thank anyone who will inform me that he, in his speech today, pointed out anything I had stated, respecting him, as being erroneous. I presume there is no such thing. I have reason to be gratified that the care and caution used in that speech, left it so that he, most of all others interested in discovering error, has not been able to point out one thing against him which he could say was wrong. He sizes upon the doctrines he supposes to be included in that speech, and declares that upon them will turn the issues of this campaign. He then quotes, or attempts to quote, from my speech. I will not say that he willfully misquotes, but he does fail to quote accurately. His attempt at quoting is from a passage which I believe I can quote accurately from memory. I shall make the quotation now, with some comments upon it, as I have already said, in order that the Judge shall be left entirely without

excuse for misrepresenting me. I do so now, as I hope, for the last time. I do this in great caution. in order that if he repeats his misrepresentations, it shall be plain to all that he does so willfully. If, after all, he still persists, I shall be compelled to reconstruct the course I have marked out for myself, and draw upon such humble resources as I have, for a new course, better suited to the exigencies of the case. I set out, in this campaign with the intention of conducting it strictly as a gentleman, in substance at least, if not in the outside polish. The latter I shall never be, but that, which constitutes the inside of a gentleman I hope I understand, and am not less inclined to practice than others. It was my purpose and expectation that this canvass would be conducted upon principle, and with fairness on both sides, and it shall not be my fault if this purpose and expectation shall be given up.

He charges in substance, that I invite a war of sections; that I propose all the local institutions of the different States shall become consolidated and uniform. What is there in the language of that speech which expresses—such purpose, or bears such construction? I have again and again said that I would not enter into any of the States into any attitude of firing bombs or shells into the slave States. I was not using that passage for the purpose for which he infers I did use it. I said: "We are now far advanced into the fifth year since a policy was

created for the avowed object and with the confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease till a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe that this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all one thing or the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push forward till it shall become alike lawful in all States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Now you all see, from that quotation, I did not express my wish or purpose of my own; I simply expressed my expectation. Cannot the Judge perceive a distinction between a purpose and an expectation? I have often expressed an expectation? I have often expressed an expectation to die, but I have never expressed a wish to die. I said at Chicago, and now I repeat, that I am quite aware this Government has endured, half slave and half free, for eighty-two years. I understand that little bit of history. I expressed the opinion I did, because I perceived—or thought I perceived—a new set of causes introduced. I did

say at Chicago, in my speech there, that I do wish to see the spread of slavery arrested, and to see it placed where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction. I said that because I supposed, when the public mind shall rest in that belief, we shall have peace on the slavery question. I have believed—and now believe—the public mind did rest on that belief up to the introducing of the Nebraska bill.

Although I have ever been opposed to slavery, so far I rested in the hope and belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. For this reason it had been a minor question with me. I might have been mistaken; but I had believed, and now believe that the whole public mind, that is, the mind of the great majority, had rested in that belief up to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. But upon that event, I became convinced that either I had been resting in a delusion, the institution was being placed on a new basis—a basis for making it perpetual, national and universal. Subsequent events have greatly confirmed me in that belief. I believe that bill to be the beginning of a conspiracy for that purpose. So believing, I have since then considered that question a paramount one. So believing, I thought the public mind will never rest till the power of Congress to restrict the spread of it shall again be acknowledged and exercised on the one hand, or on the other, resistance being entirely crushed out. I have expressed that opinion, and I entertain it tonight. It is denied that there is any tendency to nationalization of slavery in these States.

Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, in one of his speeches, when they were presenting him canes, silver plate, gold pitchers, and the like, for assaulting Senator Summer, distinctly affirmed his opinion that when the Constitution was framed it was the belief of no man that slavery would last to the present day.

He said, what I think, that the framers of our Constitution placed the institution of slavery where the public mind rested in the hope that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. But he went on to say that the men of the present age, by their experience, have become wiser than the framers of the Constitution; and the invention of the cotton gin had made the perpetuity of slavery a necessity in this country.

As another piece of evidence tending to this same point: Quite recently in Virginia a man—the owner of slaves—made a will providing that after his death certain of his slaves should have their freedom if they should choose and go to Liberia, rather than remain in slavery. They chose to be liberated. But the persons to whom they would descend as property, claimed them as slaves. A suit was instituted, which finally came to the Supreme Court of Virginia, and was there decided against the slaves, upon the ground that a negro cannot make a choice—

that they had no legal power to choose—could not perform the condition upon which their freedom depended.

I do not mention this with any purpose of criticising it but I wish to connect it with the arguments as affording additional evidence of the change of sentiment upon this question of slavery in the direction of making it perpetual and national. I argue now as I did before, that there is such a tendency, and I am backed not merely by the facts, but by the open confession in slave States.

And now, as to the Judge's inference, that because I wish to see slavery placed in the course of ultimate extinction—placed where our fathers originally placed it—I wish to annihilate the State Legislatures—to force cotton to grow upon the tops of the Green Mountains—to freeze ice in Florida—to cut lumber on the broad Illinois prairies—that I am in favor of all these ridiculous and impossible things.

It seems to me it is a complete answer to all this to ask, if, when Congress did have the fashion of restricting from free territory; when courts did have the fashion of deciding that taking a slave into a free country made him free—I say it is a sufficient answer to ask, if any of this rediculous nonsense about consolidation, and uniformity, did actually follow? Who heard any such thing, be-

cause of the ordinance of '87? because of the Missouri Restrictions? because of the numerous court decisions of that character?

Now, as to the Dred Scott decision; for upon that he makes his last point at me. He boldly takes ground in favor of that decision.

This is onehalf the onslaught, and one-third of the entire plan of the campaign. I am opposed to that decision in a certain sense, but not in the sense which he puts on it. I say that so far a suit decided in favor of Dred Scott's master, and against Dred Scott and his family, I do not propose to distub or resist the decision.

I never have proposed to do any such thing. I think, that in respect for judicial authority, my humble history would not suffer in comparison with that of Judge Douglas. He would have the citizen conform his vote to that decision; the member of Congress, his; the President, his use of the veto power. He would make it a rule of political action for the people and all the departments of the Government. I would not. By resisting it as a political rule, I disturb no right of property, create no disorder, excite no mobs.

When he spoke at Chicago, on Friday evening of last week, he made this same point upon me. On Saturday evening I replied, and reminded him of a Supreme Court decision which he opposed for at least several years. Last night, at Bloomington,

he took some notice of that reply; but entirely forgot to remember that part of it.

He renews his onslaught on me, forgetting to remember that I have turned the tables against himself on that very point. I renew the effort to draw his attention to it. I wish to stand erect before the country, as well as Judge Douglas, on this question of judicial authority; and therefore I add something to the authority, in favor of my position. I wish to show that I am sustained by authority, in addition to that heretofore presented. I do not expect to convince the Judge. It is part of the plan of his campaign, and he will cling to it with a desperate grip. Even, turn it upon him—the sharp point against him, and gaff him through—he will still cling to it till he can invent some new dodge to take the place of it.

In public speaking it is tedious reading from documents; but I must beg to indulge the practice to a limited extent. I shall read from a letter written by Mr. Jefferson in 1820, and now to be found in the seventh volume of his correspondence, at page 177. It seems he had been presented by a gentleman of the name of Jarvis with a book, or essay, or periodical, called the "Republican," and he was writing in acknowledgment of the present, and noting some of its contents. After expressing the hope that the work will produce a favorable effect upon the

minds of the young, he proceeds to say:

"That it will have this tendency may be expected. and for that reason I feel an urgency to note what I deem an error in it, the more requiring notice as your opinion is strengthened by that of others. You seem, in page 84 and 148 to consider the Judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions a very dangerous doctrine indeed, and one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy. Our Judges are as honest as other men, and not more so. They have, with others, the same passions for party, for power, and the privilege of their corps. Their maxium is 'boni judicis est ampliare judisdictionem;' and their power is the more dangerous as they are in office for life, and not responsible, as the other functionaries are, to the elective control. The constitution has erected no such single tribunal knowing that, to whatever hands confided, with the corruptions of time and party, its numbers would become despots. It has more wisely made all the departments coequal and sovereign with themselves."

Thus we see the power claimed for the Supreme Court by Judge Douglas, Mr. Jefferson holds, would reduce us to the despotism of an oligarchy.

Now, I have said no more than this—in fact, never quite so much as this—at least I am sustained by Mr. Jefferson.

Let us go a little further. You remember we once

had a National Bank. Someone owed the bank a debt; he was sued and sought to avoid payment, on the ground that the bank was unconstitutional. The case went to the Supreme Court, and therein it was decided that the bank was unconstitutional whole Democratic party revolted against that decision. General Jackson himself asserted that he, as President, would not be bound to hold a National Bank to be constitutional, even though the court had decided it to be so. He fell in precisely with the view of Mr. Jefferson, and acted upon it under his official oath, in vetoing a charter for a National Bank. The declaration that Congress does not possess the constitutional power to charter a bank, has gone into the Democratic platform at their National Convention, and was brought forward and reaffirmed in their last convention at Cincinnati. They have contended for that declaration, in the very teeth of the Supreme Court, for more than a quarter of a century. In fact, they have reduced the decision to an absolute nullity. That decision, I repeat, is repudiated in the Cincinnati platform; and still, as if to show that effrontery can go farther, Judge Douglas vaunts in the very speeches in which he denounces me for opposing the Dred Scott decision, that he stands on the Cincinnati platform.

Now, I wish to know what the judge can charge upon me, with respect to decisions of the Supreme Court, which does not lie in all its length, breadth, and proportions at his own door. The plain truth is simply this: Judge Douglas is for Supreme Court decisions when he likes and against them when he does not like them. He is for the Dred Scott decision because it tends to nationalize slavery—because it is a part of the original combination for that object. It so happens, singularly enough, that I never stood opposed to a decision of the Supreme Court till this. On the contrary, I have no recollection that he was ever in favor of one till this. He never was in favor of any, nor opposed to any, till the present one, which helps to nationalize slavery.

Free men of Sangamon—free men of Illinois—free men everywhere—judge between him and me, upon this issue.

He says the Dred Scott case is a very small matter at most—that it has no practical effect; and at best, or rather, I suppose, at worst, it is but an abstraction. I submit that the thing which determines whether a man is free or a slave, is rather concrete than abstract. I think you would conclude that it was, if your liberty depended upon it, and so would Judge Douglas if his liberty depended upon it. But suppose it was upon the question of spreading slavery over the new Territories that he considers it as being merely an abstract matter, and one of no practical importance. How has the planting of slavery in new countries always been effected? It has now been decided that slavery cannot be kept out

of our new Territories by any legal means. In what does our new Territories now differ in this respect from the old Colonies when slavery was first planted within them? It was planted as Mr. Clay once declared, and as history proves true, by individual men in spite of the wishes of the people; the Mother Government refusing to prohibit it, and withholding from the people of the Colonies the authority to prohibit it for themselves. Mr. Clay says this was one of the great and just causes of complaint against Great Britian by the Colonies, and the best apology we can now make for having the institution amongst us. In that precise condition our Nebraska politicians have at last succeded in placing our new Territories; the Government will not prohibit slavery within them, nor allow the people to prohibit it.

I defy any man to find any difference between the policy which now prevails in our new Territories. If it does not go into them, it is only because no individual wishes it to go. The Judge indulged himself, doubtless today, with the question as to what I am going to do about the Dred Scott decision. Well, Judge, will you please tell me what you did about the bank decision? Will you not graciously allow us to do with the Dred Scott decision precisely as you did with the bank decision? You succeeded in breaking down the moral effect of that decision; did you find it necessary to amend the Constitution? or to set up a court of negroes in order to do it?

There is one other point. Judge Douglas has a very affectionate leaning toward the Americans and Old Whigs. Last evening, in a sort of weeping tone, he described to us a death-bed scene. He had been called to the side of Mr. Clay, in his last moments, in order that the genius of "popular sovereignty" might duly descend from the dying man and settle upon him, the living and most worthy successor. He could do no less than promise that he would devote the remainder of his life to "popular sovereignty;" and then the great statesman departs in peace. By this part of the "plan of the campaign," the Judge has evidently promised himself that tears shall be drawn down the cheeks of all the old Whigs, as large as half grown apples.

Mr. Webster, too, was mentioned; but it did not quite come to a death-bed scene, as to him. It would be amusing, if it were not disgusting, to see how quick these compromise-breakers administer on the political effects of their dead adversaries, trumping up claims never before heard of, and dividing the assets among themselves. If I should be found dead tomorrow morning, nothing but my insignificance could prevent a speech being made on my authority, before the end of next week. It so happens that in that "popular sovereignty" with which Mr. Clay was identified, the Missouri Compromise was expressly reversed; and it was a little singular if Mr. Clay cast his mantle upon Judge Douglas on purpose to have that compromise repealed.

Again, the judge did not stop with Mr. Clay when he first brought in his Nebraska bill. He left the Missouri Compromise unrepealed, and in his report accompanying the bill, he told the world he did it on purpose. The *manes* of Mr. Clay must have been in great agony, till thirty days later, when "popular sovereignty" stood forth in all its glory.

One more thing. Last night Judge Douglas tormented himself with horrors about my disposition to make negroes perfectly equal with white men in social political relations. He did not stop to show that I have said any such thing, or that it is legitimately from anything I have said, but he rushes on with his assertions. I adhere to the Declaration of Independence. If Judge Douglas and his friends are not willing to stand by it, let them come out and amend it. Let them make it read that all men are created equal except negroes. Let us have it decided, whether the Declaration, in this blessed year of 1858, shall be thus amended. In his construction of the Declaration last year, he said it only meant that Americans in America were equal to Englishmen in England. Then, when I pointed out to him that by rule he excludes the Germans, the Irish, the Portuguese, and all other people who have come amongst us since the Revolution, he reconstructs his reconstruction. In his last speech he tells us it mean Europeans.

I press him a little farther, and ask if it meant to include the Russians in Asia? or does he mean to exclude that vast population from the principles of our Declaration of Independence? I expect ere long he will introduce another amendment to his definition. He is not at all particular. He is satisfied with anything which does not endanger the nationalizing of negro slavery. It may draw white men down, but it must not lift negroes up. Who shall say, "I am the superior, and you are the inferior?"

My declarations upon this subject of negro slavery may be misrepresented, but cannot be misunderstood. I have said that I do not understand the Declaration to mean that all men were created equal in all respects. They are not our equal in some respects; they are equal in their right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Certainly the negro is not our equal in color—perhaps not in many other respects; still, in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned, he is the equal of every other man, white or black. pointing out that more has been given you, you cannot be justified in taking away the little which has been given him. All I ask for the negro is that if you do not like him, let him alone. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy.

When our Government was established, we had the institution of slavery among us. We were in a certain sense compelled to tolerate its existence. It was a sort of necessity. We had gone through our struggle and secured our own independence. The framers of the Constitution found the institution of slavery amongst their other institutions at the time. They found that by an effort to eradicate it, they might lose much of what they had already gained. They were obliged to bow to the necessity. They gave power to Congress to abolish the slave trade at the end of twenty years. They also prohibited it in the Territories where it did not exist. They did what they could and yielded to the necessity for the rest. I also yield to all which follows from that necessity. What I would most desire would be the separation of the white and black races.

I charged that the people had been deceived into carrying the last Presidential election, by the impression that the people of the Territories might exclude slavery if they chose, when it was known in advance by the conspirators, that the court was to decide that neither Congress nor the people could so exclude slavery. These charges are more distinctly made than anything else in the speech.

Judge Douglas has carefully read and re-read that speech. He has not so far as I know, contradicted those charges. In the two speeches which I heard, he certainly did not. On his own tacit admission I renew that charge. I charge him with

having been a party to that conspiracy and to that deception for the sole purpose of nationalizing slavery.



CHAPTER IX

Early Days in Illinois

The Joint Discussion



T IS not our purpose to give the speeches of the two disputants in the joint discussion held at the different places throughout the

State, but only some of the main points the most closely contested, which came up somewhat spontaneously during the process of the great debate, giving the line of their argument in their manner of dealing with the questions at issue between them and before the country. The place of commencement was at Ottawa, August 21st, 1858, and the continuous discussions agreed upon took place without a break in dates until finished. Large audiences greeted the two gentlemen at each gathering.

Mr. Douglas at Ottawa had the opening speech, and he proposed certain questions, seven in number, for Mr. Lincoln's consideration and which he expected him to answer without fail and without equivocation. They were knotty questions, considering all the conditions and circumstances which were before the country, they were difficult of answers. It was with some degree of solicitude that

Mr. Lincoln set about his answers. Indeed, he did not attempt any answer to these interrogations until he came to Freeport where he had the opening and closing speeches, but took up his time in dealing with other points raised by Douglas in his opening speech here and at other places, which had been previously raised. It is evident that he had reserved these to wisely meditate upon them before attempting any answers, because he did not know the disposition his wilv adversary in debate might make of them. These answers, however, were made in a general way when he did attempt them, and in a categorical manner while they were followed up in amplified form with a few words of explanation. Mr. Douglas was unable to twist them into very much advantage to himself.

After the first day's joint discussion at Ottawa the disputants went about making other speeches until they were to hold another by appointment six days later at Freeport. Mr. Lincoln made quite a number of addresses at various cities on his way thither, but all the while keeping well in his mind how he would better answer the interrogatories of Mr. Douglas. One of the interrogatories gave Mr. Lincoln no little concern; and, doubtless, he would not have ventured to answer it so soon had he not been pressed to the point of doing so by his adversary. He resolved, however, to answer them all in the categorical manner we have already indicated. But the

manner of answering this interrogatory, the third one in the list asked by Douglas in his Ottawa speech, did not satisfy the latter, and it became a bone of contention all the way through the joint discussion.

In the half hour's rejoinder of Mr. Douglas's speech to Mr. Lincoln's speech at Ottawa, the former complained of the latter because he seemed to pay no attention to the questions asked in his first speech to be answered by the latter. In the first speech of Mr. Lincoln at Freeport, he speaks of this. He says:"I do him no injustice in saying that he occupied at least half of his reply in dealing with me as though I had refused to answer his interrogatories. I now propose that I will answer any of the interrogatories, upon condition that he will answer questions from me not exceeding the same number I give him an opportunity to respond. The Judge remains silent. I now say that I will answer his interrogatories, whether he answers mine or not; and that after I have done so, I shall propound mine to him

"I have supposed myself, since the organization of the Republican party at Bloomington, in May 1856, bound as a party man by the platforms of the party, then and since. If in any interrogatories which I shall answer I go beyond the scope of what is within these platforms, it will be perceived that no one is responsible but myself.

"Having said this much, I will take up the Judge's interrogatories as I find them printed in the Chicago Times, and answer them seriatim. In order that there may be no mistake about it, I have copied the interrogatories in writing, and also my answers to them. The first one of these interrogatories is in these words:

Question 1. "I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive slave law?"?

Answer. I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive slave law.

Question 2. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged today, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?"

Answer. I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave States into the Union.

Question 3. "I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that State my see fit to make?"

Answer. I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make.

Question 4. "I want to know whether he stands

today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?"

Answer. I do not stand today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Question 5: "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States?"

Answer. I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States.

Question 6: "I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, North as well as South of the Missouri Compromise line?"

Answer. I am impliedly, if not expressly pledged to a belief in the right and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories.

Question 7: "I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?

Answer. I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves.

"Now, my friends, it will be perceived upon an examination of these questions and answers, that so far as I have only answered that I was not pledged to this, that or the other. The Judge has not framed

his interrogatories to ask me anything more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly that I am not pledged at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his interrogatory. I am rather disposed to take up at least some of the questions, and state what I really think upon them.

"As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive Slave Law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave law, further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are not now in agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

"In regard to the other question of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add, that if slavery shall be kept

out of the Territories during the territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the Constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

"The third interrogatory is answered by the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

"The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet as a member of Congress, I should not with my present views, be in favor of endeavoring to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: First, that the abolition should be gradual. Second, that it should be on a vote of the majority of the qualified voters of the District; and third, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "Sweep from our Capitol that foul blot upon our Nation."

"In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say

here, that as to the question of the abolition of the slave-trade between the different States, I can truly answer, as I have that I am pledged to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I not given that mature consideration would make me authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate it if I had sufficient time, to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject; but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here, and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade among the different States, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power unless upon some conservative principle as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

"My answer as to whether I desire that slavery be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States, is full and explicit within itself, and cannot be made clearer by any comments of mine. So I suppose in regard to the question whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood, than the answer which I have placed in writing.

"Now in all this the Judge has me, and he has me on my record. I suppose he had flattered himself that I was really entertaining one set of opinions for one place and another set for another place—that I was afraid to say at one place what I uttered at another. What I am saying here I suppose I say to a vast audience as strongly tending to Abolitionism as any audience in the State of Illinois, and I believe I am saying that which if it would be offensive to any persons and render them enemies to myself, would be offensive to persons in this audience.

"Now I proceed to propound to the judge the interrogatories, so far as I framed them. I will bring them forward now, only reaching to number four.

The first one is:

Question I. If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all respects, adopt a State Constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill—some ninety-three thousand—will you vote to admit them?

Question II. Can the people of the United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?

Question III. If the Supreme Court of the United

States shall decide that States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting and following such decision as a rule of political action?

Question IV. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the slavery question?"

The questions and answers propounded to each other are about all the writer desires to bring up in these notes on the Freeport speeches of the antagonists. They were chokers to each other and designedly so as regarded by their friends, much depending as to success upon the manner of their answers at the coming election. Mr. Lincoln's political friends did not approve of the policy of Mr. Lincoln's second question to Mr. Douglas for the reason they were apprehensive that he would answer it in the affirmative, which would lead to his defeat for the senatorship. That question had a history, and a conference was held beforehand between Mr. Lincoln and a few of his supporters at Dixon, among whom were Mr. Norma B. Judd and Dr. C. H. Ray, the editor-in-chief of the Tribune. They counselled Mr. Lincoln not to put that question to Mr. Douglas for the reason given above. "They believed the latter would leave the subject alone as much as possible in order not to offend the South, unless he should be driven into a corner." What was Mr. Lincoln's reply? It was this: "An affirmative answer from Douglas on this question was exactly what he wanted, and that his object was to make it impossible for Douglas to get the vote of the Southern States in the next Presidential election. He considered that fight much more important than the present one and he would be willing to lose this in order to win that," is the word of Mr. Horace White. The exact words of Mr. Lincoln appear to have been, "I am after larger game; the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

Mr. White further adds in this matter: "The result justified Mr. Lincoln's prevision. Douglas did answer in the affirmative. If he had answered in the negative he would have lost the senatorial election, and that would have ended his political career. He took the chance of being able to make satisfactory explanations to the slaveholders, but they would have nothing to do with him afterwards. "After the debate was finished, we Republicans did not feel happy. We held the same opinion that Mr. Judd and Dr. Ray had—that Douglas's answer had probably saved him from defeat. We did not look forward, we did not look South; even if we had done so, we were too much enlisted in this campaign to swap it for another one which was two years distant. Mr. Lincoln's wisdom was soon vindicated by his antagonist, one of whose earliest acts, after he returned to Washington City, was to make a speech

(February 23rd 1859) defending himself against attacks upon 'Freeport heresy,' as the Southerners called it. In that debate Jefferson Davis was particularly aggravating and Douglas did not reply to his with his usual spirit."

I give here the answers of Mr. Douglas to Mr. Lincolns four questions to him in the joint discussion at Freeport:

"First, he desires to know if the people of Kansas shall form a constitution by means entirely proper and unobjectionable and ask admission into the Union as a State, before they have the requisite population for a member of Congress, whether I will vote for that admission. Well, now, I regret exceedingly that he did not answer that interrogatory himself before he put it to me, in order that we might understand, and not be left to infer, on which side he is. Mr. Trumbull, during the last session of Congress, voted from the beginning to the end against the admission of Oregon, although a free State, because she had not the requisite population for a member of Congress. Mr. Trumbull would not consent, under any circumstances, to let a State, free or slave, come into the Union until it had the requisite population. As Mr. Trumbull is in the field fighting for Mr. Lincoln, I would like to have Mr. Lincoln answer his own question and tell me whether he is fighting Trumbull on this issue or not. But I will answer his question. In reference to Kansas, it is my opinion, that as she has population enough to constitute a slave State, she has people enough for a free State. I will not make Kansas an exceptional case to other States of the Union. I hold it to be a sound rule of universal application to require a Territory to contain the requisite population for a member of Congress, before it is admitted as a State into the Union. I made that proposition in the Senate in 1856, and I renewed it during the last session, in a bill providing that no Territory of the United States should form a Constitution and apply for admission until it had the requisite population. On another occasion I proposed that neither Kansas, or any other Territory, should be admitted until it had the requisite population. Congress did not adopt any of my propositions containing this general rule, but did make an exception of Kansas. I will stand by that exception. Either Kansas must come in as a free State, with whatever population she may have, or the rule must be applied to all the other Territories alike. I therefore answer at once, that it having been decided that Kansas has people enough for a slave State, I hold that she has enough for a free state. I hope Mr. Lincoln is satisfied with my answer; and now I would like to get his answer to his own interrogatory -whether or not he will vote to admit Oregon before that Territory has the requisite population. Mr. Trumbell will not, and the same reason that commits Mr. Trumbell against the admission of Oregon, commits him against Kansas, even if she should apply for admission as a free state. If there is any sincerity, any truth, in the argument of Mr. Trumbull in the Senate, against the admission of Oregon because she had not 93,420 people, although her population was larger than that of Kansas, he stands pledged against the admission of both Oregon and Kansas until they have 93,420 inhabitants. I would like Mr. Lincoln to answer this question. I would like him to take his own medicine. If he differs with Mr. Trumbull let him answer his argument against the admission of Oregon, instead of poking questions at me.

"The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, can the people of a Territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, in 1855, and 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It mat-

ters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my manner satisfactory on that point. * * * *

"The third question which Mr. Lincoln presented is, if the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that a State of this Union cannot exclude slavery from its own limits, will I submit to it? I am amazed that Mr. Lincoln should ask such a question. ["A school-boy knows better"]. Yes, a school-boy does know better. Mr. Lincoln's object is to cast an imputation upon the Supreme Court. He knows that there never was but one man in America, claiming any degree of intelligence

or decency, who ever for a moment pretended such a thing. It is true that the Washington Union, in an article published on the 17th of last December, did put forth that doctrine, and I denounced the article on the floor of the Senate in a speech which Mr. Lincoln now pretends was against the President. The Union had claimed that slavery had a right to go into the free States and that any provision in the Constitution or laws of the free States to the contrary were null and void. I denounced it in the Senate, as I said before, and I was the first man who did. Lincoln's friends, Trumbull, and Seward, and Hale, and Wilson, and the whole Black Republican side of the Senate, were silent. They left it to me to denounce it. And what was the reply made to me on that occasion? Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, got up and undertook to lecture me on the ground that I ought not to have deemed the article worthy of notice, and ought not to have replied to it: that there was not one man, woman or child South of the Potomac, in any slave State, who did not repudiate any such pretension. Mr. Lincoln knows that that reply was made on he spot, and yet now he asks this question. He might as well ask me, suppose Mr. Lincoln should steal a horse would I sustain it; and it would be as genteel in me to ask him, in the event he stole a horse, what ought to be done with him. He casts an imputation upon the Supreme Court of the United States, by supposing that they would violate the Constitution of the United States. I tell him that such a thing is not possible. It would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench could ever descend to. Mr. Lincoln himself would never in his partisan feelings so far forget what was right as to be guilty of such an act.

"The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is, are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard as to how such acquisition may affect the Union on the slavery question? This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

"The Black Republican creed lays it down expressly, that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I ask Mr. Lincoln whether he is in favor of that proposition. Are you [addressing Mr. Lincoln opposed to the acquisition of any more territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is prohibited in it? That he does not like to answer. When I ask him whether he stands up to that article in the platform of his party, he turns Yankee fashion, and without answering it, asks me whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the slavery question? I answer that I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of slavery, and when we have acquired it, I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it a slave

or free territory, as they prefer. It is idle to tell me or you that we have territory enough. Our fathers supposed that we had enough when our territory extended to the Mississippi river, but a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more, and the Louisiana territory, from the West branch of the Mississippi to the British possessions, was acquired. Then we acquired Oregon, then California and New Mexico. We have enough now for the present, but this is a young and growing It swarms as often as a hive of bees, and as new swarms are turned out each year, there must be hives in which they can gather and make their honey. Just as fast as our interests grow and our destiny require additional territory--I am for it, and when we acquire it, will leave the people, according to the Nebraska bill, free to do as they please on the subject of slavery and every other question.

"I trust that now Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on his four points. He racked his brain so much in devising these four questions that he exhausted himself, and had not strength enough to invent the others. As soon as he is able to hold a council with his advisers, Lovejoy, Farnsworth, and Fred Douglas, he will frame and propound others."

This ended the palaver at Freeport so far as concerns the questions and their answers which had been up for discussion except a brief paragraph in Mr. Lincoln's closing speech in reply to Mr. Douglas.

Neither of them seemed satisfied with the answers which had been given, and they were renewed or resumed a little more than two weeks later at Jonesboro in which there was a good deal of time consumed and, figuratively speaking, a good deal of fur flew in the course of their arguments, for things waxed warmer as the debate progressed.

I desire to give that brief paragraph before passing on to the discussion at Jonesboro. It reads thus: "The Judge complains that I did not fully answer his questions. If I have sense to comprehend and answer those questions, I have done so fairly. If it can be pointed out to me how I can more fully and fairly answer him, I aver I have not the sense to see how it is to be done. He says I would not declare I would in any event vote for the admission of a slave State into the Union. If I have been fairly reported he will see that I did give an explicit answer to his interrogatories, I did not merely say that I would dislike to be put to the test: but I said clearly, if I were put to the test, and a territory from which slavery had been excluded should present herself with a State Constitution sanctioning slavery a most extraordinary thing, wholly unlikely to happen—I did not see how I could avoid voting for her admission. But he refused to understand that I said so, and he wants this audience to understand that I did not say so. Yet it will be so reported in the printed speech that he cannot help seeing it.

Freeport, Mr. Lincoln grouped the second and third questions together as one, conceiving them as practically of the same import and stating at the time that "the third is answered by the second." I do not find anywhere throughout the whole joint debate that he made any special effort to do otherwise. The whole question that was between them was the slavery question, its extension into new territory or its confinement to the States where it was already in existence.

After the joint debate at Freeport, August 27th, and the day for is renewal at Jonesboro, Sept. 25th, some two weeks and more intervened, and Mr. Lincoln had some little time outside of his other appointments, to spend at his home in Springfield with the friends, and to counsel with them, if need be. Some were a little "ill at ease" with him, because of the questions and answers which had been proposed to each other and the manner of the answers, especially the second question of Mr. Lincoln of the four propounded in the group at Freeport. They were not as far-seeing as Mr. Lincoln, and did not wish to surrender the Senatorship. Even Uncle Jesse K. Dubois came in with his complaint under this head as he had done with his "divided house clause". The latter was our State Auditor, a familiar personage at Springfield where nearly everybody called him familiarly "Uncle Jesse". He thought Mr.

In answering Mr. Douglas's interrogatories at

Lincoln had been placed in an unfavorable light in not taking up with the counsel of his friends. But Mr. Lincoln saw that the tide was turning, and put the question to suit himself. Uncle Jesse declared to Mr. Lincoln that "he had elected Mr. Douglas United States Senator". To which Mr. Lincoln replied, "Well, Jesse, it may be as you say, I have elected Mr. Douglas Senator, but I have elected a republican President in 1860". And so it proved, for he himself was elected.

As respects the questions proposed to him at Ottawa, only that one which was in reference to the admission of any more slave States into the Union gave him trouble; and only so because of the compromising position in which he might be brought with respect to his party. His answer to this could not help being considered weak and reluctant. Indeed, Mr. Lincoln himself felt that in this regard the advantage had been with his wily disputant. Because of this he was led to seek out his old friend, Mr. George R. Weber for a little counsel. To get even with Douglas was one reason he had asked him the much mooted second question proposed at Freeport. Mr. Weber told the writer that Mr. Lincoln sought him at his printing office and that they retired to his private office at his establishment where Mr. Lincoln laid bare the whole matter of all the questions and the replies which had been submitted by each, and which had given him difficulty

to answer, as he would like, without compromising his party, and jeopardising the cause of the republicans for the United States Senatorship. And together they went over the entire ground of the questions and answers and the line of argument to be taken by Mr. Lincoln if it were found convenient to bring the matter up at the next place of the joint discussion, which was at Jonesboro, or as soon as it was deemed possible. The plan seems to have been to nurse along the great question of slavery in leaving it as much as possible in reserve for his great argument and his hard and telling hits until it came to the last place of the joint discussion at Alton. The few hints and suggestions by his friends were sufficient for the basis of amplification to a great mind like Mr. Lincoln.

At the next place of meeting, Jonesboro, Mr. Douglas had the opening and closing speeches. He did not refer in his first speech to the subject of Mr. Lincoln's answer to his third interrogatory proposed in his Ottawa speech, and Mr. Lincoln wisely let it drop out of sight in order to take up the answer of Judge Douglas to the second question of Mr. Lincoln, proposed at Freeport, which Lincoln's friends did not wish him to ask, and he straightway subjected it to a rigid and thorough analysis. This was in range with the conversation which he had with Mr. Weber. It was not until the second speech of Mr. Douglas in reply to Mr. Lincoln's speech that he brought up

his own interrogatory, when, of course, Lincoln could not reply. This worked to Mr. Lincoln's advantage in postponing anything which he might have to say upon it until a later date. At Charleston other subject-matter engaged their entire attention, and gave opportunity for its further postponement.

I repeat that Mr. Douglas had the opening address at Jonesboro, and that in it he did not bring up the matter of the questions and their answers. But towards the latter half of Mr. Lincoln's address it became convenient for him to bring up the matter of the answer of Judge Douglas to his second question proposed to the latter at Freeport. It is seldom we read in a stump speech a more skillful and judicious handling than the sophistry of Mr. Douglas received which he had used to build up his pet scheme to uphold the legal aspect of slavery in its spread into new territory acquired by the United States.*

Mr. Lincoln says: "The Judge in answering me upon that occasion, put in what I suppose he intends as answers to all four of my interrogatories. The first one of these interrogatories I have before me, "Question 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by

^{*} It is evident that Mr. Lincoln felt grateful to Mr. Weber for his suggestions many of which were fitted into the above named speech at Jonesboro in the argument he made against the answer of Mr. Douglas to the second interrogatory proposed at Freeport. After the debates were over and after Mr. Lincoln was elected and before being inaugurated, he presented Mr. Weber with a copy of the discussions with his own markings and his autograph. This book is now a very valuable book. It is now in the possession of Mr. John R. Weber of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Before this it was for some months in the possession of the writer. During this time, he exhibited it to quite a number of people.

means entirely unobjectionable in all respects, adopt a State Constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, before they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill some ninety-three thousand—will you vote to admit them?"

"As I read the Judges' answer in the newspaper, and as I remember it as pronounced at the time, he does not give any answer which is equivalent to yes or no—I will or I wo'nt. He answers at very considerable length, rather quarrelling with me for asking the question, and insisting that Judge Trumbull had done something that I ought to say something about; and finally getting out such statements as induce me to infer that he means to be understood he will, in that supposed case, vote for the admission of Kansas. I only bring this forward now for the purpose of saying that if he chooses to put a different construction upon his answer he may do it. But if he does not, I shall from this time forward assume that he will vote for the admission of Kansas in disregard of the English bill. He has the right to remove any misunderstanding I may have. I only mention it now that I may hereafter assume this to be the true construction of his answer, if he does not choose to correct me.

"The second interrogatory that I pronounced to him, was this: "Question 2. Can the people of the United States Territory, in any lawful way, against

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the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a States Constitution?" To this Judge Douglas answered that they can lawfully exclude slavery from the Territory prior to the formation of a Constitution. He goes on to tell us how it can be done. As I understand him, he holds that it can be done by the Territorial Legislature refusing to make any enactments for the protection of slavery in the Territory, and especially by adopting unfriendly legislation to it. For the sake of clearness I state it again; that they can exclude slavery from the Territory, 1st by withholding what he assumes to be an indispensable assistance to it in the way of legislation; and 2nd, by unfriendly legislation. If I rightly understand him, I wish to ask your attention for a while to his position.

"In the first place, the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that any Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Territories is unconstitutional—that they have reached this proposition as a conclusion from their former proposition, that the Constitution of the United States expressly recognizes property in slaves, and from that other Constitutional provision, that no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law. Hence they reach the conclusion that as the Constitution of the United States expressly recognizes property in slaves, and prohibits any person from being deprived of

property without due process of law, to pass an act of Congress by which a man who owned a slave on one side of a line would be deprived of him if he took him on the other side, is depriving him of that property without due process of law. That I understand to be the decision of the Supreme Court. I understand also that Judge Douglas adheres most firmly to that decision; and the difficulty is, how is it possible for any power to exclude slavery from the Territory unless in violation of that decision? That is the difficulty.

"In the Senate of the United States, in 1850, Judge Trumbull, in a speech, substantially, if not directly, put the same interrogatory to Judge Douglas, as to whether the people of a Territory had the lawful power to exclude slavery prior to the formation of a Constitution? Judge Douglas then answered at considerable length, and his answer will be found in the Congressional Globe, under date of June 9th, 1856. The Judge said that whether the people could exclude slavery prior to the formation of a Constitution or not was a question to be decided by the Supreme Court. He put that proposition, as will be seen by the Congressional Globe, in a variety of forms, all running to the same thing in substance—that it was a question for the Supreme Court. I maintain that when he says, after the Supreme Court have decided the question, that the people

may yet exclude slavery by any means whatever, he does virtually say, that it is not a question for the Supreme Court. He shifts his ground. I appeal to you whether he did not say it was a question for the Supreme Court? Has not the Supreme Court decided that question? Does he not virtually shift his ground and say that it is not a question for the Supreme Court, but for the people? This is a very simple proposition—a very plain and naked one. It seems to me that there is no difficulty in deciding it. In a variety of ways he said that it was a question for the Supreme Court. He did not stop then to tell us that whatever the Supreme Court decides, the people can by withholding necessary "police regulations" keep slavery out. He did not make any such answer. I submit to you now, whether the new state of the case has not induced the Judge to sheer away from his original ground. Would not this be the impression to every fair minded man?

"I hold that the proposition that slavery cannot enter a new country without police regulations is historically false. It is not true at all. I hold that the history of this country shows that the institution of slavery was originally planted upon this continent without these "police regulations" which the Judge now thinks necessary for the actual establishment of it. Not only so, but is there not another fact—how came this Dred Scott decision to be made? It was made upon the case of a negro being taken and ac-

tually held in slavery in Minnesota Territory, claiming his freedom because the act of Congress prohibited his being so held there. Will the Judge pretend that Dred Scott was not held there without police regulations? There is at least one matter of record not only without police regulations, but in the teeth of Congressional legislation supposed to be valid at the time. This shows that there is vigor enough in slavery to plant itself in a new country even against unfriendly legislation. It takes not only law but the enforcement of law to keep it out. That is the history of this country upon the subject.

I will ask one other question. It being understood that the Constitution of the United States guarantees property in slaves in the Territories, if there is any infringement of the right of that property, would not the United States Courts, organized for the government of the Territory, apply such remedy as might be necessary in that case? It is a maxim held by the courts, that there is no wrong without its remedy; and the courts have a remedy for whatever is acknowledged and treated as a wrong. Again: I will ask you, my friends, if you were elected members of the legislature, what would be the first thing you would have to do before entering upon your duties? Swear to support the Constitution of the United States. Suppose you believe, as Judge Douglas does, that the Constitution of the United States guarantees to your neighbor

the right to hold slaves in that Territory—that they are his property—how can you clear your oaths unless you give him such legislation as is necessary to enable him to enjoy that property? What do you understand by supporting the Constitution of a State, or of the United States? Is it not to give such constitutional helps to the rights established by that Constitution as may be practically needed? Can you, if you swear to support the Constitution and believe that the Constitution establishes a right, clear your oath, without giving it support? Do you support the Constitution if, knowing or believing there is a right established under it which needs specific legislation, you withhold that legislation? Do you not violate and disregard your oath? I can conceive of nothing plainer in the world. There can be nothing in the words "support the Constitution," if you may run counter to it by refusing suport to any right established under the Constitution. And what I say here will hold with still more force against the Judge's doctrine of "unfriendly legislation." How could you having sworn to support the Constitution, and believing it guaranteed the right to hold slaves in the Territories, assist in legislation intended to defeat the right? That would be violating your own view of the Constitution. Not only so, but if you were to do so, how long would it take the Courts to hold your votes unconstitutional and void? Not a moment.

"Lastly, I would ask, is not Congress, itself, under obligation to give legislative support to any right that is established under the United States Constitution? I repeat the question—is not Congress, itself, bound to give legislative support to any right that is established in the United States Constitution? A member of Congress swears to support the Constitution of the United States, and if he sees a right established by the Constitution which needs specific legislative protection, can he clear his oath without giving that protection? Let me ask you why many of us who are opposed to slavery upon principle, give our acquiescence to a Fugitive Slave law? Why do we hold ourselves under obligation to pass such a law, and abide by it when it is passed? Because the Constitution makes provision that the owners of slaves shall have the right to reclaim them. It gives the right to reclaim slaves, and that right is, as Judge Douglas says, a barren right, unless there is legislation that will enforce it.

"The mere declaration, 'No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due,' is powerless without specific legislation to enforce it. Now, on what ground would a member of Congress who is opposed to slavery in the abstract, vote for

a Fugitive law, as I would deem it my duty to do? And although it is distasteful to me. I have sworn to support the Constitution, and having so sworn, I cannot conceive that I do support it if I withhold from that right any necessary legislation to make it practical. And if that is true in regard to a fugitive Slave law, is the right to have fugitive slaves reclaimed any better fixed in the Constitution than the right to hold slaves in the Territories? For this decision is a just exposition of the Constitution, as Judge Douglas thinks. Is the one right any better than the other? Is there any man who, while a member of Congress, would give support to the one any more than the other? If I wished to refuse to give legislative support to slave property in the Territories, if a member of Congress, I could not do it, holding the view that the Constitution establishes that right. If I did it at all, it would be because I deny that this decision properly construes the Constitution. But if I acknowledge, with Judge Douglas, that this decision properly construes the Constitution, I cannot conceive that I would be less than a perjured man if I should refuse in Congress to give such protection to that property as in its nature it needed "

The rejoinder of Mr. Douglas to this part of Mr. Lincoln's speech is as follows: "Now analyze that answer (to the second and third questions to Mr. Lincoln by Mr. Douglas at Ottawa). In the

first place he says he would be exceedingly sorry to be put in a position where he would have to vote on the question of the admission of a slave State. Why is he a candidate for the Senate if he would be sorry to be put in that position? I trust the people of Illinois will not put him in a position which he would be sorry to occupy. The next position he takes is that he would be glad to know that there would never be another slave State, yet, in certain contingencies, he might have to vote for one. What is that contingency? If Congress keeps slavery out by law while it is a Territory, and then the people should have a fair chance and should adopt slavery, uninfluenced by the presence of the institution,' he supposed he would have to admit the State. Suppose Congress should not keep slavery out during their territorial existence, then how would he vote when the people applied for admission into the Union with a slave Constitution? That he does not answer and that is the condition of every territory we have Slavery is not kept out of Kansas by an act of Congress, and when I put the question to Mr. Lincoln, whether he will vote for the admission with or without slavery, as her people may desire, he will not answer, and you have not got an answer from him. In Nebraska slavery is not prohibited by act of Congress, but the people are allowed, under the Nebraska bill, to do as they please on the subject; and when I ask him whether he will vote to admit

Nebraska with a slave Constitution if her people desire it, he will not answer. So with New Mexico, Washington Territory, Arizona and the four new States to be admitted from Texas. You cannot get an answer from him to these questions. His answer only applies to a given case, to a condition—things which he knows do not exist in any one territory in the Union. He tries to give you to understand that he would allow the people to do as they please, and yet he dodges the question as to every Territory in the Union. I now ask why cannot Mr. Lincoln answer to each of these territories? He has not done it, and he will not do it. The Abolitionists up North understand that this answer is made with a view of not committing himself on any one Territory now in existence. It is so understood there and you cannot expect an answer from him on a case that applies to any one Territory, or applies to the new States which by compact we are pledged to admit out of Texas, when they have the required population and desire admission. I submit to you whether he has made a frank answer, so that you can tell how he would vote in any one of these cases. 'He would be sorry to be put in the position.' Why would he be sorry to be put in this position if his duty required him to give the vote? If the people of a Territory ought to be permitted to come into the Union as a State, with slavery or without it, as they pleased, why not give the vote admitting them cheerfully? If in his opinion they ought not to come in with slavery, even if they wanted to, why not say that he would cheerfully vote against their admission? His intimation is that conscience would not let him vote 'No,' and he would be sorry to do that which his conscience would compel him to do as an honest man."

It will be seen by anyone who follows the debate from the beginning to the end that the whole matter beween these two disputants hinged upon the subject of slavery as to cause. There was nothing else to be settled, and that was the great bone of contention between the North and the South. Everything depended on that in the attempt to break up and destroy the Union of the States which brought on the Civil War.

Not wishing to prolong the subject of the joint discussion to too great a length, I pass over the debates held respectfully at Charleston and Galesburg, nor yet at Quincy except to record the complaint of Mr. Douglas that Mr. Lincoln would not give any different answer to his interrogatories proposed at Ottawa, especially his third one, than given at Freeport, although he had essayed to drag out of him something different at almost every occasion of their joint debate. At Quincy Mr. Douglas complained of Mr. Lincoln's reticence. He said: "Now let me call your attention for a moment to the answers

which Mr. Lincoln made at Freeport to the questions which I propounded him at Ottawa.***The point I wish him to answer is this: Supose Congress should not prohibit slavery in the Territory, and it applied for admission with a Constitution recognizing slavery, then how would he vote?*** I have put that question to him time and time again, and have not been able to get an answer out of him." Mr.Douglas was still unable to get anything out of him which he could twist to his own advantage and bring the former into antagonism with his party. Let it be stated here why he would not answer differently.Mr. Lincoln had a moral sentiment against slavery as a wrong, and he would not do violence to that sentiment. Accordingly, we find him discoursing upon that subject at Alton which ended their controversy:

"I have stated upon former occasions, and I may as well state again, what I understand to be the real issue in this controversy between Judge Douglas and myself. On the point of my wanting to make war between the Free and the Slave States, there has been no issue betwen us. So, too, when he assumes that I am in favor of introducing a perfect social and political equality between the white and black races. These are false issues, upon which Judge Douglas has tried to force the controversy. There is no foundation in truth for the charge that I maintain

either of these propositions.* The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind —is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong, and another class that does not look upon it as a wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery in this country as a wrong is the sentiment of the Republican party. It is the sentiment around which all their actions, all their arguments, circle, from which all their propositions radiate. They look upon it as being a moral, social, and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. Yet, having a due regard

^{*} It was at Charleston that Lincoln shut up the mouth of Judge Douglass on these issues in the following manner: "I will say then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races, that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, not to intermarry with white people, and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. I do not understand that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave, I must necessarily want her for a wife.

I append here to this plain statement of Abraham Lincoln a remark which I find in Mr. Frank E. Stevens' Life of Stephen A. Douglas, which the State Historical Society of Illinois has published, and which its Librarian and Secretary has generously sent me, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

Here is the statement to be found on Pages 579 and 580, embracing also what Mr. Douglas said in regard to it: Without any doubt Lincoln "Shut up Douglas." Why? Because he had answered in just that manner. Douglas said himself that nothing was left upon that point of debate, I am glad that I have at last succeeded in getting an answer out of him upon this question of negro citizenship and eligibility to office, for I have been trying to bring him to the point on it ever since the canvass commenced."

for these, they desire a policy in regard to it that looks to its not creating any more danger. They insist that it should, as far as may be, be treated as a wrong; and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to make provisions that it shall grow no larger. They also desire a policy that looks to a peaceful end of slavery at the same time, as being wrong. These are the views they entertain in regard to it as I understand them; and all their sentiments, all their arguments and propositions are brought within this range.***

On this subject as treating it as a wrong, and limiting its spread, let me say a word. Has anything ever threatened the existence of this Union save and except this very institution of slavery? What is it that we hold most dear amongst us? Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity, save and except this institution of slavery? If this be true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery—by spreading it out and making it bigger? You may have a wen or cancer upon your person, and not be able to cut it out, lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it, to engraft it and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard as a wrong You see this peaceful way of dealing with it as a wrong—resisting the spread of it, and not allowing it to go into new countries where it has not already existed. That is the peaceful way, the old fashioned way in which the fathers themselves set us the example.*

"On the other hand, I have said there is a sentiment which treats it as not being wrong. That is the Democratic sentiment of this day. I do not mean to say that every man who stands within that range positively asserts that it is right. That class will include all who positively assert that it is right, and all who, like Judge Douglas, treat it as indifferent and do not say it is either right or wrong. These two classes of men fall within the general class of those who do not look upon it as a wrong.***

The Democratic policy in regard to that institution will not tolerate merest breath, the slightest hint, of the least degree of wrong about it. Try it by some of Judge Douglas's arguments. He says he "don't care whether it is voted up or voted down in the Territories." I do not care myself, in dealing with that expression, whether it is intended to be expressive of his individual sentiments on the subject, or only of the national policy he desires to have established. It is alike valuable for my purpose. Any

I give in this foot note what Mr. Lincoln himself gave in the fore part of this Alton speech as the "father's way" which is the "old fashioned way," and it is this: "I entertain the opinion, upon evidence sufficient to my mind, that the fathers of this government placed that institution where the public mind did rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Let me ask why they made provision that the source of slavery-the African slavetrade—should be cut off at the end of twenty years? Why did the make provisions that in all the new territory we owned at that time slavery should be forever inhibited? Why stop its spread in one direction, and cut off its source in another, if they did not look to its being placed in the course of ultimate extinction?"

man can say that he does not see anything wrong in slavery; but no man can logically say who does see a wrong in it, because no man can logically say he don't care whether an indifferent thing is voted up or voted down, but he must logically have a choice between a right and a wrong thing. He contends that whatever community wants slaves has a right to have them. So they have, if it is not wrong. But if it is a wrong, he cannot say people have a right to do wrong. He says that upon the score of equality, slaves should be allowed to go into a new Territory, like other property. If it and other property are equal, his argument is entirely logical. But if you insist that one is wrong and the other right, there is no use to institute a comparison between right and wrong. You may turn over everything in the Democratic policy from beginning to end, whether in the shape it takes on the statute book, in the shape it takes in conversation, or the shape it takes in the Dred Scott decision, in the shape it takes in short maxim-like arguments-it everywhere carefully excludes the idea that there is anything wrong in it.

"That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time.*** The one is the common right

of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same spirit that says, "You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

It is evident from the foregoing statements of Mr. Lincoln that, had he lived in this twentieth century age and in view of what took place in the gigantic struggle of the world-war, and if the world of mankind among us had partaken of his sentiments, there would not have been a "slacker" to be seen by him.

Before closing this chapter bearing upon the joint discussion between these two champions, it seems fitting to restate what was said in a former part of this work—the distinctive difference between them resulting from their respective view points. Douglas stood for the law as it read, while Lincoln stood for the law as it should read. Both men were loyal and patriotic as their later history proved, and this is evident, too, to every one who has read the entire debate. Douglas firmly endorsed the Dred Scott decision because it was the law of the land; Lincoln did not, and declared his belief that the decision was improperly made, and he went for revising it on the ground of its immoral bearing

in its triumph of wrong over right. Throughout the entire discussion Douglas did not betray the least sympton that he thought there was anything wrong in the institution of slavery, or that he had any conscientious scruples of this kind. Nevertheless, he was not insensible to the sentiment when all the facts of his life are known, and in another chapter the writer will be pleased to gather up some of the evidences of this sort and present them. His indomitable ambition to be president of the United States seemed to still his moral sentiment against its wrong if only he might gain enough Southern prestige to be able to become such. Lincoln either knew this or suspected it, for in a few lines above this in the part of the Alton speech which we have transcribed he alludes to this apparent indifference, putting him in the class of Democrats who did not care for such a thing, or for this moral sentiment. Mr. Lincoln here attacks the position of Mr. Douglas in the arguments of the latter to uphold the cause of slavery against the deep sense and moral convictions of its wrong which such a man as he must be considered to have, by his endeavors to uphold such an institution on the basis of its national issue, and he beat him into the high position of the Presidency, which they both coveted.

One or two points more and I shall be through with anything I may have to say in a direct manner on the subject of the joint debate. Mr. Douglas in

his political course through life defeated his own high ideas and ambition by doing violence to his own inner conscience. He might have been President had his course been different. Mr. Lincoln clung to the higher and better course, and reached his goal. Yet one thing seems certain in the opinion of the writer: If there had not been a Douglas there would not have been a Lincoln. This was the opinion of the writer during the time when he was a young man on the farm, as he read the discussion as it was being conducted through its entire course, and as he heard it talked about by others. Since commencing to write this treatise he has waded through the entire process of that long debate, and having done so, he has not seen fit to change his mind. While he maintained himself throughout the discussion, and won the meed of victory as to the Senatorship, he lost something to his competitor, and ended up his life in disappointment to his ambition. Virtue has its reward. He might have been President, but he paid the penalty for violence to his real sentiment, and we may shed a tear for this disappointment to his high hopes. He was a worthy man.

CHAPTER X

Early Days in Illinois

The Real Douglas

HOEVER has read the discussions between these two representative men of Illinois, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Lincoln, without knowing very much of the history of the former, will doubtless be led to form an erropeous opinion

will, doubtless, be led to form an erroneous opinion of his real character. He had been so long before the people of Illinois as a representative man in public office, he had been petted and fondled by them so long that he appeared somewhat spoiled, and he seemed to assume a sort of patronizing air toward any one who pressed to oppose him in anything he had to say or do. He had become opinionated by virtue by being kept in office so long that this feature of character became a sort of second nature, as it were, and to that extent that it was very noticeable and rendered him somewhat disagreeable and rather tiresome to many. He had been kept before the people so many years that his ambition became so great he appeared to think, but not in reality, no one else had any right to the high station he occupied as United States Senator from the State of Illinois until he could step into the higher office of the Presidency.

I record here the words of Mr. Horace White who accompanied Mr. Lincoln to every point at which the two men spoke during the joint debate, and who is good authority in a matter of this kind: "I have been asked what was the demeanor of the two men toward each other during these debates. demeanor on the platform was that of cool politeness. There was nothing like comradeship between them. Mr. Douglas began the campaign by assuming an air of superiority and patronage and toleration towards Lincoln, which he did not really feel. It was a part of his political game to make the most of his own greater prestige. If he had met Lincoln everywhere on terms of his usual geniality and good fellowship the Democrats would have been obliged to confess that the two champions were on equal footing, whereas they had always believed and insisted that Douglas was much the greater of the two. Of course Lincoln would not tolerate any claims of superiority. His demeanor on the platform was framed to repel and rebuke such airs. Off the platform they did not meet at all during the campaign."*** I add here a word from Mr. Stevens: "Lincoln was human. The sweetness of his human foibles must stand as a constant reminder of what a human being in a human way can do for lasting blessings to fellow men and glory to himself. To carry him skyward is to lose him altogether. Though at times he displayed a high degree of nervousness and anger, his gentleness came invariably to the rescue and nobody appreciated his human virtues more than his great rival, Douglas, a man of many virtues which have been hidden by the overpowering shadows of that other who for so long a time watched and envied the great distance which separated them. What a sommersault fickle fortune turned with respect to those great rivals!"*

After what has been said in a few sentences by the writer in the commencement of this chapter relative to Mr. Douglas, he cannot refrain from introducing here a just and very worthy remark of Mr. Stevens in his Life of Mr. Douglas, which work lies before him as he writes: "Of all the political rivalries of American history, not one is entitled to stand in the class of Douglas and Lincoln. Hamilton and Jefferson could never be brought together or into terms of more than civility, so tightly drawn were their relations. Clay and Calhoun hated each other cordially; it was war to the death between. Nothing but the inflexible and powerful will of Jackson could have coped successfully against the hatred and superior genius of Calhoun. But between Douglas and Lincoln, there was present an

^{*} Quoted from Mr. Frank E. Stevens' Life of Stephen A. Douglas and published by the Illinois State Historical Society, Page 589 and 590.

attachment; a warm, lasting friendship. Upon the stump from 1840 to 1858, in joint debate, each would pay his political respects to the other in no uncertain manner, but the debate over, the friendship remained undisturbed. In the contest of the latter years, personalities might have become more than usually noticeable with his three cornered fight on hand, because Douglas' stock of patience was exhausted. But there abided always, his great respect for his powerful adversary."

As a friendly and courteous act of Mr. Douglas towards his rival, Mr. Stevens cites an instance which is well known to many persons familiar with these two gentlemen: "When upon sending his son Robert to Harvard, Lincoln desired for his son attentions which might not come to the average young western man, how did Lincoln secure that coveted attention? By securing from his old friend, Senator Douglas, a letter to the President of Harvard, Dr. Walker, and therein he speaks of the young man as a son of his friend Abraham Lincoln, 'with whom I have lately been canvassing the State of Illinois.'

The writer well remembers that incident for there was more to it than expressed in that citation. He himself was also a student in a sister State of New England preparing to enter college. We were both from this same town, Springfield. Right well were these two champions familiar with each other's ability as contestants. This knowledge came from

away back in their history when they were young men at Springfield, in their literary and political strife with each other. And when at Washington Mr. Douglas learned that Mr. Lincoln had been chosen as the Republican candidate for the United States senatorship in his stead, he said to others of his friends that a very able and very honest man had been nominated. He said on another occasion to Mr. John W. Farney, amplifying the above statement: "I shall have my hands full. He is the strong man of his party—full of rich facts, dates, and is the best stump speaker in the west. He is as honest as he is shrewd; and if I beat him, my victory will be hardly won."* These with others are facts which we who lived with Lincoln in Sangamon County were familiar with, and which Judge Douglas had come up against and realized only too often to forget them. I give in this place a few more facts from this same source which the author of that work has culled out from the great mass which are extant:

"When that celebrated canvass was finished and Douglas, a victor over Buchanan as well as over Lincoln, he told Henry Wilson, in reply to the question as to what he thought of Mr. Lincoln: He is an able and honest man, one of the noblest men of the nation. I have been in Congress sixteen years, and there is not a man in the Senate I would not rather encounter in debate'." Again, "When later, in a

spirit of ugliness, it was proposed to offend Mr. Lincoln in his new office, Douglas said with spirit: shall be there and if anyone attacks Mr. Lincoln he attacks me too'." More than this, it has been said of Mr. Douglas and it is recorded in reference to his treatment of secession sympathizers, he made this statement: "If I were President, I'd convert or hang them all within forty-eight hours. However, don't be in any hurry. I've known Mr. Lincoln a longer time than you have, or than the country; he'll come out all right and we will all stand by him." Lastly, "When at the inauguration ball it had been intimated that Mrs. Lincoln was to be snubbed by Washington society absenting itself, Douglas a social favorite, let it be known at once that the Douglases would undertake to spoil the little plot and to the utmost of his ability he did, by escorting Mrs. Lincoln to the ball room upon his arm."

But it was in the social features of his qualities and in the home that Douglas excelled. He loved his home and home life in the family, and he tried to have at least one cheerful, happy spot exempt from all anxiety for himself and all the inmates of his home and for whoever else it might be by whom he was surrounded. It is said of Mr. Douglas that he loved to have company in his home—his immediate friends and other invited guests. I record here what another has written:* "The married life of the Mr. Stevens in his Life of Stephen A. Douglas, Page 683 as published in Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society."

Douglas was ideal. As the son Stephen has repeated many times about his mother, 'she was the love of my father's life'. The love of Douglas for his wife was an infatuation and if a change was ever noticeable in his devotion, it was that he was more devoted than upon the day before. No father loved a romp with the boys more than Douglas; upon hands and knees he would permit them to take his heavy locks of hair in hand and lead him about the room playing horse. He was ever a chum, a boy chum with them and no more beautiful tribute can be offered than that of the son Stephen but a few days before his death: "I knew both of the men, to honor whom you gather here today. I knew the one as a boy may know his father—his friend, his playmate and his chum, whom he loved and respected, but had never learned to fear.' " And in a footnote on this same page I find the following from this same son Stephen mentioning "the fondness of the father, when dancing the son upon one knee, far away." "They tried to make a cabinet maker of me, but I was a failure and so they made a Senator of me."

Mr. Douglas was twice married and happily mated each time. His first wife was Miss Martha Denny Martin, the daughter of one Colonel Martin who was a resident of North Carolina. Of the issue of that marriage there were two sons* and one daughter. The latter did not survive her mother's It appears that these two sons were born at the old Martin homestead in North Carolina, and that the daughter was born in Washington.

death but a month or two, dying in infancy. The older son's name was Robert Martin Douglas, born January 28, 1849, and the name of the younger son was Stephen Arnold Douglas, the same as that of his father, born November 3, 1850. The mother of these children died in Washington, January 23, 1853. Douglas lived in a cottage which he built in Chicago in 1853 until 1856. After this period he lived in Washington, and later in life he built a four story residence of some pretensions where he lived, becoming a "princely entertainer" and where he reached his highest fame after his second marriage. For his second wife he married Miss Adele Cutts. "the beautiful and accomplished daughter of I. Madison Cutts, then second comptroller of the treasury. His new house became the rendezvous for committee meetings, and friends who desired to make plans." Here is what I find in a foot note on page 648 of Mr. Stevens Life of Douglas: "And the beauty and cleverness of Mrs. Senator Douglas caused her parlors to be thronged by those whose loyalty was outspoken or whose disloyalty was not yet avowed. The 'Little Giant', too, as a host was most charming."

The next feature characteristic of Mr. Douglas to which we wish to call attention is the much mooted question of his pro-slavery tendencies which he might have had or might not have had. Throughout his public utterances in his stump speeches or anywhere else, so far as the writer is aware, he did

not commit himself publicly on the subject of the institution of slavery as to what he thought of it in the aspect of its righteousness or unrighteousness. And because of this, he has been interpreted as having no qualms of conscience or distressing thought about it on the moral basis. During the debates with Mr. Lincoln, the latter twits him for this in the oft repeated use he makes in his citation of the statement that he did not care how the question of slavery went, whether it was "voted up or down." In this, Mr Douglas has sometimes been misjudged. He had conscientious scruples, nevertheless, about the subject of slavery. He made the statement rather loosely in the heated discussion which took place in the Senate, perhaps, in the course of his argument not intending to give any expresion as to its moral right which he might have or might not have or his conscientious scruples about it.

That expression of Mr. Douglas has a history. How did he come to make it? It occurs in a speech which he made in the United States Senate at the time of his opposition to President Buchanan who sought to force a slave constitution upon the people of Kansas in opposition to their wishes and in violation of their rights, thus bringing her into the Union a slave State. I give here the words of his speech leading up to the expression: "Let me ask you, why force this Constitution down the throats of the people of Kansas in opposition to

their wishes and in violation of our pledges? * * * [There was great fear of dividing the Democratic party if they did]. Do we propose to keep the party united by offering division? * * * But I am besought to wait until I hear from the election on the 21st of December. I am told that will put it all right and will save the whole difficulty. How can it? * * * But I deny that it is impossible to have a fair vote on the slavery clause; and I say that it is not impossible to have any vote on the constitution. Why wait for the mockery of an election, when it is provided unalterably, that the people cannot vote—when the majority are disfranchised?

"But I am told on all sides, 'Oh, just wait! the pro-slavery clause will be voted down.'*** If Kansas wants a slave State constitution, she has a right to it; if she wants a free-State constitution, she has a right to it. It is none of my business which way the slavery clause is decided. I care not whether it is voted down or up.'*** This is the clause and this is its setting in his speech in the Senate, upon which Mr. Lincoln throughout the joint discussion, whether rightly or wrongly, rang many changes.

It has been stated in this chapter that the first wife of Senator Douglas was a Southern woman, the daughter of a citizen of North Carolina. He was the owner of lands and slaves in that State. Besides this homestead, he also owned a plantation and slaves in the State of Mississippi. The next day after the marriage of Mr. Douglas with Miss Mar-

tin, her father placed in the hands of his new son-in law a package of papers with the information that it was a wedding gift. Mr. Stevens whose work on the Life of Mr. Douglas gives us this bit of information, gives, also another authentic statement concerning the charge that Mr. Douglas was a slave owner, which will be of interest to many persons. This charge was the occasion of a confab on the floor of the Senate between Mr. Douglas and Senator Wade of Ohio, the latter of whom saw fit to call attention to the indelicate matter of the relations alleged to exist between Mr. Douglas and slaves and the income from slaves. Mr. Stevens has said of it that "probably it would not have been made but for the intense feeling then existing between the great political parties of the country in a desperate fight." I shall presently give the short and curt reply in which Mr. Douglas pays his respects to the Ohio Senator.

"Later," says Mr. Stevens, "Douglas found the package of papers to contain among other things, an absolute deed, conveying to him certain plantations in the State of Mississippi and the slaves thereon, of the value of something like \$100,000. Without reflecting a moment upon his course in the premises, Douglas sought Col. Martin and with protestations of profound thanks for the spirit which moved the gift, he returned the deed, stating that while he was no abolitionist, and had no sympathy with

them in their ultra views respecting slavery, yet he was a northern man by birth, education and residence and was totally ignorant of that description of property, and as ignorant of the manner of its government; wherefore, wholly incompetent as he was for the property, particularly at the great distance from which he lived, he preferred Col. Martin should retain the property, at least during his lifetime, and if in the meantime no disposition was made of it, he could then by will leave directions for its disposition."*

As things turned out Col. Martin died May 25, 1848, leaving in his will the following:"In giving to my dear daughter full and complete control over my slaves in Mississippi (his slaves in North Carolina having been left to his wife in fee simple) I make to her one dying request instead of endeavoring to reach the case in this will. That is, that if she leaves no children, to make provisions before she dies to have all these negroes, together with their increase, sent to Liberia, or some other colony in Af-By giving them the net proceeds of the last crop they may make would fit them out for the trip and probably leave a large surplus to aid them in commencing planting in that country. In this request I would remind my dear daughter that her husband does not desire to own this kind of property and most of our collateral connection already have * Mr. Stevens quotes as authority for this statement the son of Judge Douglas, Robert M. Douglas. belief, expressed in the will, that they would be happier and better off with the descendants of the family with whom they had been born and raised, than in a distant land where they might find no friend to care for them. This brief statement, relating to private and domestic affairs (which ought to be permitted to remain private and sacred), has been extorted and wrung from me with extreme reluctance, even in vindication of the purity of my motives in the performance of a high public trust. As the truth compelled me to negative the insinuations so offensively made by the Senator from Ohio, God forbid that I should be understood by anyone as willing to cast from me any responsibility that now does, or ever has attached to any member of my family. long as life shall last—and I shall cherish with religious veneration the memory and virtues of the sainted mother of my children—so long as my heart shall be filled with parental solicitude for the happiness of those motherless infants, I shall implore my enemies, who so ruthlessly invade the domestic sanctuary, to do me the favor to believe that I have no wish, no aspiration, to be considered purer or better than she who was, or they who are, slave-holders.

Sir, when my assailants refuse to accept a like amount of this species of property tendered to them, under similar circumstances, and shall perform a domestic trust with equal fidelity and disinterestedness, it will be time enough for them to impute mer-

cenary motives to me in the performance of my official duties."

I give one more paragraph concerning this plantation and the slaves upon it from Mr. Stevens' work. This is not the end of the matter. Whoever cares to pursue the matter to its end may find the whole story written out in full in Part XXIX from which this account is taken.

"This plantation was located on Pearl River, Lawrence County, in the State of Mississippi. Some years after the death of Major Martin, the land, in the absence of enrichment, and by reason of frequent freshets, became so unproductive that, Senator Douglas, the executor of the will, made a contract with a gentleman named James A. McHatton, who owned a large and fertile plantation in another County to take the slaves and work them for a certain portion of the profit. The Martin plantation was then sold by order of court, largely upon credit. The war followed soon after, in which the records were destroyed, and the greater part of the payments were never recovered. The slaves of course were emancipated."

"The stock objection to the course of Douglas with regard to slavery," says Mr. Stevens' work on page 648, "has been that he would not believe nor say that slavery was wrong fundamentally. Douglas did believe that slavery was wrong fundamentally. But with a constitutional recognition of it staring him in

the face, the plan of Douglas for its ultimate extinction was the wisest. The Kansas experiment proved that it could be crowded out."

After all that may be said, there yet remain those who are persuaded that he would not make such pronouncement lest it might be the means of keeping him out of the Presidential chair which was the object of his great ambition, and for this reason he coveted the Southern vote, as others from the North had done, and had come into it by this means. If this be true, he paid the penalty by so doing, and lost out. Far be it from the writer to regard Mr. Douglas in such light as to do his memory harm; but he was a politician, and was not wholly unlike many other politicians. He coveted honor and high position, but possibly not more than did Mr. Lincoln, his champion competitor. Both set high their goal, and struggled hard to reach it. Both were patriots, equally so. The one reached his highest aim, the other did not, but had he lived there is no telling what might have been.

But whatever hope Mr. Douglas had once entertained of becoming President in the term next following that of Buchanan, that hope began to wane before the campaign of 1859 and 1860 set in. The effort of Lincoln in Illinois in the senatorial campaign in 1858 during the great debate between these two men, while Lincoln was beaten for that high office, had done its work towards heading off Mr. Douglas

from reaching the object of his high goal so soon. We hear Mr. Douglas admonishing his friends otherwise like this: "They know that, personally I do not desire the Presidency at this time—that I prefer a seat in the Senate for the next six years, with the chance of a re-election, to being President for four years, at my age of life. They know that I will take no steps to obtain the Charleston nomination, that I will make no sacrifice of principle, no concealment of opinions, no concessions to power for the purpose of getting it.*** In other words, I prefer the position of Senator, or even that of private citizen, where I would be at liberty to defend and maintain the well-defined principles of the Democratic party, to accepting a Presidential nomination upon a platform incompatible with the principles of self government in the territories, or the reserved rights of States or the perpetuity of the Union under the Constitution "

The fact is, Mr. Douglas knew the composition of the Southern mind better than did Mr. Lincoln. He understood their temper well, and began to see the signs of "the hand writing on the wall"—the danger that beset the American flag to maintain itself in the disruption of the Union. In such an event, he would not be a tool of slavery interests, and many of his "Southern friends believed and charged him with being an open enemy of the peculiar institution." Under this head, Mr. Stevens

writes: "His tenacity of purpose, his fearlessness of political or other consequences had done more than the world has been inclined to lay to his credit. With due respect to the memory of Lincoln, it is not to be said that he would have braved party censure with any bolder declarations than those uttered by Douglas. The utterances of Douglas in 1859 and 1860 were bolder than the utterances of Lincoln during the campaign of 1858."

Nevertheless, without heeding his admonitions and warnings of disaster to the party which "the fight was likely to precipitate," his friends reassembling in Baltimore went ahead and put him in nomination, and declared him to be the candidate, as follows: "Resolved, unanimously, That Stephen A. Douglas, of the State of Illinois, having now received two-thirds the vote given in this convention, is hereby declared, in accordance with the uniform customs and rules of former Democratic National Conventions, the regular nominee of the Democratic party of the United States."

The Southern delegates had withdrawn from the Convention, and he had no support from the South except that of Alexander H. Stephens. His friends had done everything they possibly could for him. They had gone to the length even of suppressing the telegrams he had sent them during the progress of the convention, offering, during the wrangle between the delegates from North and South which

threatened the disruption of the Democratic party, to sacrifice everything to save the party rather than to divide it: but they had gone ahead, nevertheless and nominated him. There was nothing to do but stand by his friends and make the fight. That was the honorable side for him to take, which he did, entering into the field in person, taxing his endurance to the very limit, sparing neither health nor expense in the long and bitterly contested struggle. The Southern wing of the Democratic party met in another convention and nominated Breckenridge, "The secret and sometimes expressed wish of the Breckenridge party," says Mr. Stevens who has given a lengthened account of the trouble of this period, "indicated that it was the hope of that party that Lincoln might succeed, the better, no doubt, to present an opening for the already well planned object of secession. On the other hand, the thorough accord of the Republicans left little hope for carrying a Northern State for Douglas. In other words, between these two extremes, little was left for the man who attempted to occupy neutral ground."*

There were four parties in the field in this campaign, which added to the hardship of Douglas who spoke in nearly every free State in the Union and in many of the slave States. In the course of his speech in Baltimore he made this bold statement: "It is my opinion that there is a well matured plan through-

^{*} Life of Douglas, part XXIX, page 622.

out the southern States to break up the Union. I believe the election of a Republican is to be the signal for that attempt, and that the leaders of the scheme desire the election of Lincoln so as to have an excuse for disunion. I do not believe that every Breckenridge man is a disunionist, but I do believe that every disunionist in America is a Breckenridge man."

These were strong, prophetic words, and there was not a man in all the northern part of the United States, who was more outspoken in his utterances against disunionists from this time onward until his death than Mr. Douglas. And the writer, though not having reached the years of his majority, was interested enough in the record of Stephen A. Douglas to remember this fact. I give following this general statement some of the outspoken words of Douglas as he went to and forth canvassing in the differ-He was a thorough Unionist, and seement States. ed more anxious over this subject than on all others. "When speaking at Norfolk, Va., he left no room. for doubt as to his position when he answered the person who handed him a written question, whether, if elected, he would maintain the Union by force. "I answer emphatically" replied Douglas, "that it is the duty of the President of the United States and all others in authority under him to enforce the laws of the United States passed by Congress, and as the courts expound them, and I, as in my duty bound by

my oath of fidelity to the Constitution, would do all in my power to aid the government of the United States, in maintaining the supremacy of the laws against all resistence to them, come from what quarter it might. In other words, I think the President, whoever he may be, should treat all attempts to break up the Union by resistance to the laws, as Old Hickory treatd the nullifiers in 1832.

"Asked at another point whether he would join in an effort to dissolve the Union if Lincoln were elected, he answered, 'I tell them no; never on earth."

"At Petersburg, he expressed the opinion that there was 'no evil which the Constitution and laws do not furnish a remedy for; no grievance that can justify disunion."

"At Raleigh, he stated that he was ready, 'to put the hemp around the neck, and hang any man who would raise the arm of resistence to the constituted authorities of the country.' 'The country' he said, 'had already demonstrated its power, and now there is one thing remaining to be done, in order to prove us capable of meeting any emergency; and when the time comes, I trust the government will show itself strong enough to perform that final deed—hang a traitor.'" *

It may be asked, what was the distinctive difference in mind of these two men, Douglas and Lincoln, as to the possibility of the attempt to destroy

* Statement from Mr. Stevens' Life of Douglas, Part XXVII,
pages 623 and 624.

the Union just at this period? I transcribe a paragraph from this same work of Mr. Stevens, which is in point here:

"Douglas in effect declared that he cared more for peace than for the fate of the negro. Lincoln, casuist and prophet, on the contrary seemed to care more for the negro than for peace, at least he could not be made to see the dangers of war. 'But when the legitimate result of philanthropic solicitude actually broke upon the country in the shape of disunion and war, Lincoln was obliged to recant his philanthropy and embrace the mere statesmanship of Mr. Douglas.' 'My paramount object is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

There is an important foot note which the author makes bearing upon his statements in the immediate paragraph above, concerning Mr. Lincoln, "the casuist and prophet, who could not be made to see the dangers of war" in the agitation of the subject of the abolition of slavery, which Mr. Douglas declared "meant the greatest of all wars." I place the footnote here in the body of the text, and it is this: "At Alton Lincoln declared, 'There never was a party in the history of this country and there probably never will be, of sufficient strength to disturb the general peace of the country.*** Whenever

the issue can be distinctly made and all extraneous matters thrown out so that men can fairly see the difference between the parties, this controversy will soon be settled and it will be done peacefully too. There will be no war, no violence.' "

I give another instance of his mistaken prognostication on the same subject a short time after his election and before his inauguration in office. After his election and before he left for Washington, he occupied a room which had been fitted up for him in the old capitol building, now the County Court House, where he might meet and entertain his friends. Mr. George R. Weber related the incident to the writer he is about to give, and it took place here, and on this wise: Mr. Weber was accompanied by a son whom he had been teaching, it appears, a paraphrase of Patrick Henry's speech in which occurs "Every gale that sweeps from the north brings to our ears the clash of resounding arms! The enemy are already in the field: Why stand we here idle?" The word "North" was changed so as to make it "every gale which sweeps from the South brings to our ears the clash af resounding arms." What had been intended for the lad to repeat to the President-elect, was repeated by the senior Weber himself, not calling upon his son, being so highly wrought up at the news of the day. Listening patiently, for a moment, Mr. Lincoln buried his face in his hands, and then looking up,

shaking his head in expostulation, insistently declared that there "could not, would not, be war." And he believed that there would not be war.

There remains only one more feature of the character of Mr. Douglas concerning which the writer would say only a few brief words; namely, his religious tendencies. The writer does not know if he ever united with any church, but he attended church, and he was not an unbeliever. The impression of the writer is, however, that he never became a church member. On religious matters it is said by those who knew him best, that he was not a sectarian in his views, but that he"was a firm believer in the Bible as being the word of God in the sense in which that expression is generally understood, and that true religion is a factor of infinite benefit to mankind." His mother was a Christian, a member of the Baptist Church, while also his sister was a regular attendant upon Baptist church services. All this meant something. has been written of him: "In all his public utterances, you will search in vain for a word of disrespect or doubt of a Supreme Being-God."

CHAPTER XI

Early Days in Illinois

The Two Partisans,

and

Some Others

HERE IS something pathetic in the winding up of the careers to these two partisans—patriots true, indeed; and in their meeting in

Washington on the occasion of the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln. Affecting was it in the extreme in view of the rivalry there had been between them. That meeting is the best illustration that could be given of the real character of the two men. It is said they met in Washington some days before the inauguration, and were closited together. They laid aside their old animosity, and were true friends. Mr. Lincoln read to Douglas his inaugural address, and on the day of its delivery, Douglas stood beside him, and the crowning act was when Lincoln's high hat was handed to a young reporter, Mr. Waterson, it was taken by Mr. Douglas and held by him dur-

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ing the entire ceremony, while the aged Judge Taney, who wrote the Dred Scott Decision, inducted in to office the man who was to make that opinion forever null and void. All this was simple and artless in the acts themselves whose "significance was not lost."*

What a happy moment it must have been to Mr. Lincoln to be surrounded at such a time by so many of his old time friends who once were his at Springfield in their young manhood days in their mix-ups, now gathered close to his side on the occasion of one of that number being ushered into office the highest his countrymen could bestow, the Presidency of the United States!

He was fortunate to have them there. It was not now as at the time when in pioneer life they were gathered around the crackling fireplace in Joshua Speed's store doing their literary or political "stunts," vieing with each other in their rude but friendly way, and wondering, possibly, what was in store for them in the future of their more manly lives. View them as Senators now in their changed conditions: Edward D. Baker, United States Senator from Oregon, as he stands up to introduce in appropriate terms such as he knew how to do in a few words, his very respected friend to the vast audience gathered there to witness the ceremony; Mr. McDougal, another of his quondam

^{*} Some foregoing statements from Newton's Lincoln and Herndon, page 285.

friends from Jacksonville, standing near him, now United States Senator from the State of California; lastly but not least in rank and fame, Judge Douglas, the "Little Giant," and his great competitor in debate and for office, standing by his side and holding his high silk hat and intently listening to the inaugural address of his friend and meanwhile nodding his head in approval, with such exclamations as "Good!" "That's fair!" "No backing out there!" "That's a good point!" and the like, which he is said to have uttered.*

Then, also, there were others of his personal friends, Congressmen, who had been re-elected, surrounding him among whom were Richardson, McClernand, John A. Logan.

"What a reversal of fortune!" says Mr. Stevens in his life of Douglas, in speaking of him in connection with Mr. Lincoln on this occasion. "Lincoln swiftly, pathetically, alluding to the giddy heights Douglas in 1856 had reached—now Douglas holding the hat of his humble rival of other days!"

"It was a tender little tribute which could come only from a friendship, strong and enduring, born amidst the happy hardships of rude pioneer life, where friendships are as strong as the men who build states."*

Whatever remains to be said by the writer concerning Mr. Douglas in this treatise, he feels it must

^{*} Stevens.

Stevens in his Life of Douglas, page 672.

be said here in this chapter; and, in doing so, he is dependent upon what others have said of him "When a shell burst over Fort Sumpter, on April 12th, says Mr. Newton in his book on Lincoln and Herndon "Lincoln and Douglas were cemented in one common aim. From that day on, they were in frequent consultation, and the sorely tried President was grateful for the grip of so strong a hand. Late at night, April 14th, Douglas heard Lincoln read his call for 75,000 men, and suggested that the number should be 200,000; for he, at least, did not underrate the chivalry and valor of the South. At once he offered his services to the President, willing to go or stay where he could do the most good. Lincoln asked him to go to Illinois, where his voice was like a bugle and unify the State. There was a quick hand-grasp, a hurried farewell, and they met no more." Say we not well that such a parting was touching? "His speeches on the way out." says the same authority, were pitched in a lofty, patriotic key, and his address before the Legislature of his own State was one of the greatest of his life." It was in this speech that he uttered that supreme appeal which smacks of that religious trend of his belief: "I believe in my conscience that it is a duty that we owe to ourselves and our children and to our God, to protect the government and that flag from every assailant, be he who he may."*

Now he is his natural self. The partisan is

Newton Stevens

emerged into the patriot, and he speaks the true language of his heart. He no longer veils his true sentiment. Once he said, "If I were a citizen of Louisiana, I would vote for retaining and maintaining slavery, because I believe the good of that people require it. As a citizen of Illinois, I am utterly opposed to it, because our institutions would not be promoted by it." Then he stood behind a political policy, and hid his real sentiment; but now he is a changed man with regard to that institution which was making trouble and was bringing the perpetuity of the government into jeopardy and threatening the destruction of the Union. Behold! now he speaks plainly, as the biographer we have been mainly followly in the latter part of the notes, says:

"He awoke to the belief that there rested behind the institution, a deep seated conspiracy to dissolve the Union. And he then declared, He would favor just so much extension of slave territory and just so many slaves as the conspirators could hold at the point of a bayonet."

There was one portion of Illinois about which both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas were anxious. It was that portion which lies within the limits of the southern part of the State, which was called "Egypt" by the way of distinction from other parts. In the early history of the State it was settled by many Southern people from different states. They had brought their slaves with them when it was

thought to carry the institution of slavery into the whole Northwest and especially Illinois, thus making that institution perpetual, if possible. It was here that Douglas had purposed going in order to proclaim the new doctrine which might be needed, the salvation of the Union, to unite into a solid bond the northern and southern regions if perchance, they might be at variance in that perilous time. It was here that in a more recent date when Douglas had come into great prominence he had spread abroad his doctrine of Popular Sovereignty which consisted in the right, as they thought, to carry that institution into the territory of Kansas and Nebraska.

When upon the election of Lincoln as President, rebellion against the government broke out and states in the South began to secede from the Union, and Douglas was obliged to recant his doctrine of popular Sovereignty, as we have seen, it was thought that it might have been necessary to go into this region and do a little work in pacifying them. The writer does not know if he went there after he left Washington, but he thinks it did not become necessary. This great speech before the State Legislature at Springfield settled everything, "putting to shame," as one of the biographers of Lincoln has expressed it, the devices of Gen. John A. Logan."*

It was at Springfield that Logan had his last interview with Douglas, in which the latter said to

* Newton's Lincoln and Herndon, page 286.

him: "The time has now arrived when a man must be either for or against his country. Indeed so strongly do I feel this, and that further dalliance with this question is useless, that I shall myself take steps to join the army and fight for the maintenance of the Union."

It is said of this speech of Douglas, as coming from James G. Blaine: "No message carried confidence to move hearts or gave greater strength to the National cause." Mr. Stevens says of it: "There was just one object they [the people in southern Illinois] adored more than the firesides of their ancestors and that was Douglas. Like wildfire his speech spread through Egypt and over into the border states, and without a draft, Egypt furnished more than its quota of men to the Union armies."

Mr. Horace White has recorded his opinion of this speech like this: "I heard Mr. Douglas deliver his speech to the members of the Illinois Legislature, April 25th, 1861, in the gathering tumult of arms. It was like a blast of thunder. I do not think it possible for a human being to produce a more prodigious effect with spoken words.* * * He was standing in the same place where I first heard Mr. Lincoln. That speech hushed the breath of treason in every corner of the State."

After this speech at Springfield, he was invited by the people of Chicago to address them. This he did at the Wigwam. He was received by them as never before. All joined in paying tribute to him, friend and foe alike, who had emerged into a patriot, and this occasion was another of the great efforts of his life. Soon after this he was taken sick, and became delirious, but "even in his delirium," it is said, "he was battling for the Union." He died June 3rd, in the "prime of life, at the age of forty-eight. Great was the grief at his passing away. Chicago, deeply draped in mourning, laid him away with almost royal pomp beside the lake." We are told that Mr. Lincoln on receiving the news of his death shed tears of bitter grief which ran down his cheeks at the loss of so dear a friend, and for the loss of so firm a support to the nation.

To this I subjoin the fitting tribute of Henry Waterson: "I knew Judge Douglas well: I admired, respected, loved him. I shall never forget the day he quitted Washington to go to his home in Illinois. He had burned the candle at both ends, * * * and, though not yet fifty, the candle had burned out. His infirmities were no greater than those of Clay; not to be mentioned with those of Webster. * * * No one has found occasion to come to the rescue of his fame. No party interest has been identified with his memory. But when the truth of history is written, it will be told that, not less than Webster and Clay, he, too, was a patriotic man, who loved his country and tried to save the Union."

Two remarks by Mr. Waterson in the above excerpt deserve a passing notice: "No one has found occasion to come to the rescue of his fame" and "No party interest has been identified with his memory." While that was true at the time in which it was written, it cannot be said that it is so now. Persons do come forth today with due appreciation of his sterling worth and do justice to his fame in the works that are being written of him; and if no strictly party interest has arisen to identify itself with his memory, the great State of Illinois through its Legislative branch without regard to policies erected a bronze statue of him in the Southeast corner of the State House grounds at Springfield indicative of honor and reverence for his memory, which was unveiled on the occasion of the Centennial celebrating of the admission of the State into the Federal Union. The expense of this statue was paid for out of the state treasury, some twenty-five thousand dollars. This statue is said to be a very fine piece of work as to the work of the artist in his likeness of the man, and was unveiled the same day as a companion piece to the Lincoln statue of the Farewell address of the sculptor, Andrew O'Connor,

In looking over the list of the names of those concerning whom something should be said, there appear a few names connected with the history of Springfield and incidentally with Lincoln together with a few events and incidents which not all readers

know and others may have forgotten. This needs to be related. Among these appears the names of three persons who were well known. These were Hon. Richard Yates, governor of Illinois at the beginning of the Civil War, a brilliant man, indeed, and an esteemed friend of Lincoln; U. S. Grant, and Elmer Elsworth, the latter once a law student in the office of Lincoln and Herndon.

In looking over some of Mr. Weber's private papers there is an autograph letter from Gov. Yates appointing Mr. Weber Commissary of Subsistence at Camp Yates which was at the old fair grounds west of Springfield. This was the Camp of the Illinois State Militia before being mustered into the regular United States service. Gen. Grant was at this camp. He was then a Lieutenant, and was appointed by Gov. Yates to drill the Militia at this camp. Gov. Yates was one of the first to recognize his worth, and honored him for his integrity. There was also Elmer Elsworth at this camp, afterward Colonel of the famous "Elsworth Zouaves," who was killed by one Jackson at Alexandria, Virginia, while removing a rebel flag from a hotel operated by Jackson. It was Elsworth of whom Lincoln said, "He is a young man who seems to have a real genius for war."

Mr. Weber has rescued a little speech of Gov. Yates, which would never have become known but for him. I give it as I find it with its connections in Mr. Weber's papers.

"In the Spring of 1860, the republican State convention met at Decatur, and nominated Richard Yates, the republican candidate for governor of Illinois. Governor Yates was one of the most accomplished governors of our noble state. He was patriotic, brave, eloquent and generous. We shall never forget a little speech he made in the governor's mansion, near the close of the war, in response to a serenade party on an occasion of news of a great Union victory. The speech was never in print, and as it is short, it ought to be preserved. Here it is: 'When elected governor of this State, I expected to have an easy time, with little more to do than to sign commissions for civil officers, to write a few messages to the legislature, a few reprieves, and receipts for my salary; but I assure you I have done more work, hard work—caused by the war-than the work of all my predecessors put together, and God Almighty never made a weaker piece of humanity than I am."

"This last sentence was uttered with such pathos, and with such a forlorn face that stout hearted men were moved to tears to see one so loved struggling fearfully in the toils of intemperance. He might have been President. He commissioned Grant. He nerved the right arm of Lincoln. He detested slavery, yet he lived a slave and died a slave to a more cruel master than Legree who whipped 'Uncle Tom' to death.'

Gov. Yates was a citizen of Jacksonville, and was a brilliant and accomplished man. He was Governor during the hardest part of the struggle for the suppression of the rebellion, a period extending from 1861 to 1865. After the expiration of his term of office as Governor, he was elected United States Senator as a compliment and reward for his patriotism during the time he was Governor. He died in 1873, while still a member of the United States Senate.

The next Governor who followed him was Richard J. Oglesby. He had a good record behind him as a soldier in the Mexican war, having been in the siege of Vera Cruz and in the battle of Cerro Gordo. He was distinguished as an orator, and delivered the oration at the time of unveiling of the Lincoln Statue of the Lincoln Monument at Oak Ridge while in the period of his United States Senatorship. He was three times Governor of Illinois. He resigned that office soon after being elected the second time in order to become United States Senator. The third time he became Governor was after the expiration of his term of office as senator. He was colonel of the 8th Regiment of Illinois volunteers in the Civil War, and for his gallantry at Fort Donaldson, at Fort Henry and at Corinth he obtained the rank of Major General. He was severely wounded at the last named battle. He died in 1899. He was a familiar personage on the streets

of Springfield, though not a citizen proper of Springfield, but of Lincoln, Illinois, where was his home.

General John M. Palmer was the Governor who succeeded Gov. Oglesby. He was a citizen of Carlinville, but after his term of office as Governor expired, he became a citizen of Springfield, making his home there until he died. For a term of years he with his son, John Mayo Palmer, engaged in the practice of the law, which was his profession. He was a strong man and an able Governor. During the Civil War he became the Colonel of the 14th Illinois Volunteers, and was promoted to Brigadier-General in 1861, and was made Major-General in 1863; but in 1869, he was elected Governor on the Republican ticket. In 1888, he went back to the Democratic ranks where he had always been, and received the nomination for Governor on that ticket, but was defeated. In 1891, however, he was elected United States Senator by the Legislature. In the Centennial edition of the Illinois State Register. I find this record of him: "Gov. Palmer was a scholarly man of excellent literary attainments and wrote his personal reminiscences which were published under the title of, "The Story of an Earnest Life."

I add in connection with him this brief note: His daughter, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, has inherited somewhat of his native ability in this direction. She is well and favorably known in literary circles, especially in Illinois, as a person of fine literary taste and excellent ability. She is at present Librarian, Secretary and Treasurer of the Illinois State Historical Society at Springfield. She is also principal Editor of "Journal of the State Historical Society," or Quarterly Magazine published by the Society.

There is one more name among the governors of Illinois of which the writer wishes to make mention on this page. It is the name of Shelby M. Cullom. He was personally known to him almost the entire time of his public career dating from the time he was elected from Sangamon County to the State Legislature on the American ticket. He was the next elected governor of Illinois after Gov. Palmer. He was elected to that office in 1876, and re-elected to the same office in 1880. In 1883 he was elected United States Senator, and continued to fill that office until 1913. Before this period he had represented his Congressional District at Washington. It was in this latter mentioned period, in 1868, he rendered the writer the favor of a letter of introduction to the State Department at Washington which procured for him a passport while on a visit to European countries.

I give here a little meeting which Mr. Weber with his little son Johnie had with Mr. Lincoln at his office. It seems to have been sometime during the campaign for the Presidency. Repairing with "Johnie" to Mr. Lincoln's office, he had the little

lad repeat a short campaign poem which he had been taught.

I give here four stanzas of the poem repeated, entitled

HONEST OLD ABE

"Hurrah, hurrah for freedom's cause!
Let every banner wave;
Abe Lincoln is the man we need
Our dear old flag to save.
The ship of state has been abused
Until she's sprung a leak;
They've run the good old ship aground
'Till all her timbers creak.
We'll have her cleared from keel to truck,
Make all her rigging new,
Stop all her democratic leaks,
And ship an honest crew.
Old Abe's the boy who split the rails,
He's honest, just and brave,
And where he points her mighty prow
Will freedom's banner wave."

There were two more stanzas which I do not give, except two lines of the last one which were this:

"The honest-hearted patriot, Old Abe of Illinois."

This so pleased Mr. Lincoln that he took the little fellow upon his lap while he caressed him and spoke kindly and good naturedly to him. The verses may not be valuable so much for their merit as a poem as for the occasion of their memory, and the incident is a little episode in the happenings of a family which is pleasant to remember, which brought them in connection with the great Lincoln.

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Mr. Weber also held the office of Commissary of Subsistence of volunteers at Camp Butler under Mr. Lincoln, having received his commission from him March 30th, 1864. Mr. Ninian Edwards, a relative of Mr. Lincoln by marriage, held the office before Some things were not going right in the office—some looseness in methods of supplying food for the soldiers, which amounted to a species of graft, it was thought, and the warm, personal friends of the President became dissatisfied at the conduct of the officer, and through their jealousy for the good name of the latter took the matter up to have the affairs of the office regulated. But when it became necessary for some one of these to assume responsibility and write to the President concerning this delicate matter (Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Edwards were sisters) no one seemed to wish to do it. They formed among themselves a committee to wait upon Mr. Weber in order to prevail upon him to do this bit of clerical work. He wrote a personal, friendly letter direct to the President, stating to him the substance of this delicate nature of the business, and that he had been requested to lay it before him; that the committee of his old friends, republicans and democrats alike, thought for the sake of his reputation he would better look into the matter. In a few days word came back. Mr. Lincoln wrote in return under his own hand and signature, suggesting the names of several men whom

he believed honest and fearless, among whom was the name of George R. Weber. He wrote that he would appoint anyone of these men which his friends at Springfield agreed upon. George R. Weber was selected and duly commissioned. I have seen the original commission and have a copy of it before me while writing. There is nothing unusual about it. It gives to Mr. Weber the rank of Captain in the services of the United States, to take rank as such from the 22nd day of June, 1864.*

There are two or three more points concerning President Lincoln which need to be related, two of which were sad events to the citizens of Springfield. The first event to relate is the giving up of an inestimable citizen to go to the capital of the nation and become the nation's chief; and the other, a sadder event, still, when the nation returned him to them dead, for the last sad rite of his obsequies after he had been laid low by the fatal shot of the assassin, Booth. It was the result of the contention which had been going on for some years for the mastery of the two sets of principles—contention of right and wrong for the mastery, liberty and slavery. We recall in this connection the words of Lincoln already quoted in a former chapter from his Alton speech. He said then of the contention: "It will continue in this country when these poor tongues

^{*} Mr. Weber placed his nephew, Mr. H. K. Weber, the present incumbent of the office of the presidency of the First National Bank of Springfield, then recently having come from Cumberland, Maryland out at the Camp to represent him in the transaction of the business.

of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent." How little did he realize how soon that would be! the one which had contended so eloquently for the right, and the other for the wrong, would be rendered mute!

And now we record the parting of Lincoln from his friends at home. It is this which took on a saddening aspect. I can do no better than to give the substance of what has been recorded by Mr. Herndon. Before leaving for Washington, he slipped away to visit the grave of his father, and also he rode to Farmington, in Coles County, to see his aged step-mother who was still living. "Amid such scenes of farewell, and the kindly greetings of old and dear friends, a gloom as of the grave overshadowed, reviving the pre-monition of which he talked to Herndon as early as 1843, that some violent end was to overtake him at last.

"The last afternoon before he left for Washington was spent with Herndon in the office, in which they had toiled, planned, and dreamed together. He locked the door, and after going over the cases, concerning which he had certain requests to make, and a few suggestions as to methods of procedure, they talked as old comrades. Lincoln asked his partner if he wanted any office, and if so, to name it. Herndon wanted no office, except that of bank examiner which he then held, and Lincoln said he would speak to Richard Yates, the incoming Governor, in his behalf."*

^{*} Newton's Lincoln and Herndon.

Here is how Mr. Herndon gives an account of the last afternoon spent together after they were through with what took place in the account as given in the paragraph above: "He crossed to the opposite side of the room and threw himself down on the old office sofa, which, after many years of service, had been moved against the wall for support. He lay down for a few moments, his face toward the ceiling, without either of us speaking. Presently he inquired, 'Billy'—he always called me by that name—'how long have we been together?' 'Over sixteen years,' I answered. 'We've never had a cross word during all that time, have we?' to which I returned a vehement, 'No, indeed we have not.' He then recalled some of the incidents of early practice and took great pleasure in delineating the ludicrous features of many a law suit on the circuit. It was at this last interview in Springfield that he told me of the efforts that had been made by other lawyers to supplant me in the partnership with him. He insisted that such men were weak creatures, who, to use his own language, 'hoped to secure a law practice by hanging to his coat-tail.' I never saw him in a more cheerful mood. He gathered up a bundle of books and papers he wished to take with him and started to go; but before leaving he made the strange request that the sign-board which swung on its rusty hinges at the foot of the stairway should remain. Let it hang there undisturbed,' he said, with a significant lowering of his voice. 'Give our clients to understand that the election of a President makes no change in the firm of Lincoln and Herndon. If I live I'm coming back sometime, and then we'll go right on practising law as if nothing had ever happened.' He lingered a moment as if to take a look at the old quarters, and then passed through the door into the narrow hallway. I accompanied him down stairs. * * * Grasping my hand warmly and with a fervent "Good-bye," he disappeared down the street, and never came back to the office.

The next morning he was to leave for Washington over the Wabash Route, and it was dark and lowery. It was a February morning and raining. He took his farewell forever to scenes made dear by struggle and sorrow. From the rear end of the car he addressed his friends, republicans and democrats alike, who knew him well and loved him. I give his little speech as he uttered it:

"My friends: No one, not in my position, can appreciate my feelings of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born and one of them is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washing-

ton. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting to Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

That was a heart talk to his friends from his heart to theirs full of warm and generous impulses all his own. It is beautiful and is full of simplicity and grace. It has a right to be ranked superior to his Gettysburg speech for that reason, and because it is so artless. There is not a superfluous word in it, not too many or too few.

I do not design nor desire to say anything of his official acts at Washington. They are all well known to the American public and to the world. There is nothing to cover up.

The next and last event, Mr. Lincoln's return home to Springfield, is a sadder and more serious event to record, which I do briefly, leaving out the too saddening scenes at Washington, after the assassination, as too harrowing to retrace. I have spread out before me at this writing, the Illinois State Journal, of April 15th, 1865, which was once the mouth-piece and organ of Abraham Lincoln in his home town. That issue is full of startling intelligence. Two of its pages are full of leaded

black columns in mourning for him. I give a little of the heading of the first column of the second page as follows: "Treason in the National Capital! President assassinated! The work too surely done! President is probably now no more. The Nation mourns a loved and honest President, a true patriot and an honest man." Then followed three dispatches. I give the first as it appears in the Journal: "Washington, April 15th, 12:30 a.m. The President was shot at a theatre tonight, and is probably mortally wounded." The second dispatch states, "The President is not expected to live through the night," and that "Secretary Seward was also assassinated;" while there follows a third dispatch, giving some of the particulars which I do not give, as the facts are all familiar to the reading public. President Lincoln never regained consciousness, and died after some hours.

The extra Journal of April 20th, gives the announcement by E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, of the route to be taken by the funeral train to Springfield. It was by the way of Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, Chicago to Springfield. A pilot engine, fittingly decorated, and having a life-size picture of Mr. Lincoln on the front, headed the funeral train all the way. When the train arrived at the station at Springfield over the Alton and Chicago Railway, an immense throng

awaited it, and there scarcely was a dry eye in all that crowd.

His body was borne to the State Capital building where it remained in State for several days, and then was taken to the Oak Ridge Cemetery and deposited temporarily, until such time when the present Lincoln monument could be built where his body was finally deposited, and where it rests today in peace. Several years afterward an attempt was made to steal his body away by bandits, but they were apprehended by the guard and were foiled. Since then further precaution was taken, and by encasing the casket beneath and on all sides by a mass of steel and concrete protecting it.

A little more than four years after he went out from among his friends at Springfield to become the President of the United States, he was returned to them a corpse, the victim of an assassin. At New York, April 22nd, a funeral sermon by Henry Ward Beecher was preached in Plymouth Pulpit, on the death of Abraham Lincoln. At the close of the sermon are these words:

"Four years ago, Oh Illinois, we took him from your midst an untried man, and from the people. We return him to you a mighty conqueror. Not thine any more, but the Nations'; not ours, but the world's. Give him place, Oh ye prairies! In the midst of this great Continent his dust shall rest, a sacred treasure to myriads who shall pilgrim to that shrine to kindle anew their zeal and patriotism!"

APPENDIX

The Views of Mr. Lincoln on the Christian Religion and the Bible.

HE AUTHOR of this little treatise has given his own views already on the subject of Mr. Lincoln's moral sentiment and

the views he entertained on the subject of the Christian religion and the Bible when he was a young man at New Salem and for the first few years after he came to Springfield to live. he has given in a former part of this work, and has placed them in the body of the text with the promise to extend the inquiry farther in an appendix. It is what others who knew Mr. Lincoln well, and have related of him in the time of this early period of his history concerning his opinions on the subject of the Christian religion and the Bible as expressed to them by himself at this time. It is this that he has reserved for this place. These persons who have related these views were citizens of Springfield and were his friends. With few exceptions the writer knew them all, and he is satisfied they have not borne evidence of misconceptions as to

what he believed and expressed himself in their presence. It is useless to endeavor to explain away in my zeal for Mr. Lincoln as some biographers have attempted to do, who never knew Mr. Lincoln until after he became a great man and an idol of human kind, and possibly not at all, but who refuse to believe what others have related of him as to the religious notions he once entertained. His early religious views have passed into history, and there is no use to try to cover up those blemishes, if they were such, as fabrications of political or other enemies. His early religious views were faulty, due as it is said, to the personal influence of some of his associates, and not like that in which he had been raised when he was a small boy. But after he came to Springfield to live and became acquainted with other associates who were of a different order of mind religiously, he outgrew much of that faulty bias and prejudice, and vielded to a more salutary influence.

The people of Springfield were church goers, and Lincoln formed the habit of going to church the same as others. It was yet too soon and the city too small for the entertainment of theatres. Besides the churches, after the capital of the State was moved there, always managed to maintain some of the best men the ministry afforded of the respective denominations, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalian, and others. Somehow Mr. Lincoln

became a frequent attendant at the Presbyterian church where was the venerable Dr. Smith, for quite a number of years, a Scotchman, and a very strong man, whose logic and whole-heartedness was well nigh irresistible and entirely too much for one of his age and experience to hold out against. Occasionally he would stop in with his wife at Saint Paul's Episcopal church whose rector for many years was old Dr. Dresser, an able and spiritually minded clergyman. These two churches were near together, and she was a member of that church. Saint and sinner went to church in those days when infidels, agnostics and modernists were not so plentiful as in these days. Shall we not accord to him the same privilege and benefit that we do to other folk, of a change of mind from worse to better even if some things do not become just what suits some of us and not quite to the liking of others. It is reported that Mr. Lincoln underwent a change of mind. His farewell address to the citizens of Springfield indicates as much, and the writer is going to show from what that change was unto what he afterward became in his religious opin-Such is the purpose of this appendix, and a transcription from the later edition of Herndon and Weik's two volume Work on the life of Abraham Lincoln will be introduced here, which the writer considers the best analysis of his religious belief he has vet seen.

Mr. Lincoln's Views on the Christian Religion and the Bible

"In 1834, while still living in New Salem and before he became a lawyer, he was surrounded by a class of people exceedingly liberal in matters of religion. Volney's 'Ruins' and Pain's 'Age of Reason' passed from hand to hand, and furnished food for the evening's discussion in the tayern and village store. Lincoln read both these books and thus assimilated them into his own being. He prepared an extended essay—called by name a book—in which he made an argument against Christianity, striving to prove that the Bible was not inspired, and therefore not of God's revelation and Iesus Christ was not the Son of God. The manuscript containing these audacious and comprehensive propositions he intended to have published or given wide circulation in some other way. He carried it to the store, where it was read and freely discussed. His friend and employer, Samuel Hill was among the listeners, and seriously questioning the propriety of a promising young man like Lincoln fathering such unpopular notions, he snatched the manuscript from his hands and thrust it into the stove. The book went up in flames, and Lincoln's political future was secure. But his infidelity and his skeptical views were not diminished. He soon removed to Springfield, where he attracted considerable notice by his rank doctrine. Much of

what he then said may be credited to his impetuosity and exuberance of youth. One of his closest friends whose name is withheld, narrating scenes and reviewing discussions that in 1839 took place in the office of the county clerk, says: 'Sometimes Lincoln bordered on to atheism. He went far that way, and shocked me.***He would come into the clerk's office where I and some young men were writing and staying, and would bring the Bible with him; would read a chapter and argue against it. *** Lincoln was enthusiastic in his infidelity. As he grew older he grew more discreet; didn't talk much before strangers about religion; but to friends, close and bosom ones, he was always open and avowed, fair and honest to strangers, he held them off from policy.' John T. Stuart, who was Lincoln's first partner, substantially endorses the above. 'He was an avowed and open infidel,' declares Stuart, 'and against Christian beliefs and doctrines and principles than I ever heard; he shocked me. I don't remember the exact line of his argument; suppose it was against inherent defects, so called, of the Bible and on grounds of reason. Lincoln always denied that Jesus was the Christ of God-denied that Jesus was the Son of God as understood and maintained by the Christian Church.' David Davis tells us this: 'The idea that Lincoln talked to strangers about his religion or his religious views, or made such speeches and remarks as are published, is to me

absurd. I knew the man so well; he was the most reticent, secretive man I ever saw or expect to see. He had no faith, in the Christian sense of the term had faith in laws, principles, causes and effects.' Another man (William H. Hannah) testifies as follows: 'Mr. Lincoln told me that he was a kind of immortalist; that he never could bring himself to believe in eternal punishment; that man lived but a little while here; and that if enternal punishment were man's doom, he should spend that little life in vigilant and ceaseless preparation by never-ending prayer.' Another intimate friend (I. W. Keys) furnishes this: 'In my intercourse with Mr. Lincoln I learned that he believed in a Creator of all things, who had neither beginning nor end, possessing all power and wisdom, established a principle in obedience to which worlds move and are upheld, animal nature and vegetable life come into existence. A reason he gave for his belief was that in view of order and harmony of all nature which we behold, it would have been more miraculous to have come about by chance than to have been created and arranged by some great thinking power. As to the Christian theory that Christ is God or equal to the Creator, he said it had to be taken for granted; for by the test of reason we might become infidels on that subject, for evidence of Christ's divinity came to us in a somewhat doubtful shape; but that the system of Christianity was an ingenious one at least and perhaps was calculated to do good."

Mr. Herndon says, in speaking further of Mr. Lincoln's views on the subject of Christianity, the latter confided the details of his religious belief to Mr. Jesse W. Fell who, in the biography given him, furnishes a more elaborate account of his religion than anyone else. I give it here as I find it in what his law partner has left on record in his work on the life of Lincoln: "If there were any traits of character that stood out in bold relief in the person of Mr. Lincoln, they were those of truth and candor. was utterly incapable of insincerity or professing views on this or any other subject he did not entertain. Knowing such to be his true character, that insincerity, much more duplicity, were traits wholly foreign to his nature, many of his old friends were not a little surprised at finding in some of the biographies of the great man statements concerning his religious opinions so utterly at variance with his known sentiments. True, he may have changed or modified these sentiments * after his re-* The matter of the note will explain itself. Mr. Nicolay was private secretary to Mr. Lincoln at Washington from Springfield. Friend Herndon:

Friend Herndon:

Mr. Lincoln did not to my knowledge in any way change his religious ideas, opinions or belief from the time he left Springfield to the day of his death. I do not know just what they were, never having heard him explain them in detail; but I am very sure he gave no outward indication of his mind having undergone any change in that regard while here.

Yours truly,

Jno.G.Nicolay,

Note by the Author:

Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Herndon were in intimate relation as law partners for nearly twenty years, and knew each other thoroughly. It is very probable that the latter knew Mr. Lincoln better than any other man. The writer knew Mr. Herndon's family and himself not intimately, but well enough to know that Mr. Lincoln had no warmer or better friend anywhere than his law partner; no one who would do more for him that was within his power or who would say less

moval from among us, though this is hardly reconcilable with the history of the man, and his entire devotion to public matters during his four years residence at the national capital. It is possible, however, that this may be the proper solution of this conflict of opinions; or it may be that with no intention on the part of anyone to mislead the public mind, those who have represented him as believing in the popular theological views of the times may have misrepresented him, as experience shows to be quite common where no special effort has been made to attain critical accuracy on a subject of this nature. This is the more probable from the well-known fact, that Mr. Lincoln seldom communicated to any one his views on this subject; but be this as it may, I have no hesitation whatever in saying that whilst he held many opinions in common with the great mass of Christian believers, he did

against him which could do him injury, or who would misrepresent him wilfully in any way, even especially, in the matter of his religion. Moreover, he endeavored, in collecting materials for his work on the life of Lincoln, to arrive at the exact truth about him, was more pains-taking—an indefatigable worker—in his researches after information about the man in that which was the truth in order not to misrepresent him than all his biographers put together so far as the writer knows. The above note from Mr. Nicolay shows his careful painstaking. The writer knew Mr. Nicolay, and was rendered a personal favor by him during the first part of his stay in Paris, France. Mr. Nicolay was then U. S. Consul at Paris. The writer sought as a matter of personal favor a life membership to all the privileges of the Bibliotheque Impiriale except that of the ancient Manuscripts, maps, and charts. To procure such a favor required a letter of introduction and recommendations, as it had to be voted upon by the trustees of the institution. It was then that he sought Mr. Nicolay. He was a personal friend of my aunt's family, and knew of me through them back in Springfield. He furmshed me with the favors asked, which procured the coveted privileges.

not believe in what are regarded as the orthodox or evangelical views of Christianity.

"On the innate depravity of man, the character and office of the great Head of the Church, the atonement, the infallibility of the written revelation, the performance of miracles, the nature and design of present and future rewards and punishment (as they are popularly called), and many other subjects he held opinions utterly at variance with what are usually taught in the Church. I should say that his expressed views on these and kindred topics were such as, in the estimation of most believers, would place him outside the principles and practices and the spirit of his whole life were of the very kind we universally agree to call Christian; and I think this conclusion is in no wise affected by the circumstances that he never attached himself to any religious society whatever.

"His religious views were eminently practical, and are summed up, as I think, in these two propositions: the Father-hood of God and the brother-hood of man. He fully believed in a superintending Providence that guides and controls the operations of the world, but maintained that law and order, and not their violation or suspension, are the appointed means by which this Providence is exercised."

"I will not attempt any specification of either his belief or disbelief on various religious topics, as derived from conversations with him at different times during a considerable period; but as conveying a general view of his religious or theological opinions, will state the following facts. Some eight or ten years prior to his death, in conversing with him upon the subject, the writer took occasion to refer, in terms of approbation, to the sermons and writings generally of Dr. W. E. Channing; and finding he was considerably interested in the statements I made of the opinions held by that author, I proposed to present him (Lincoln) a copy of Channing's entire works, which I soon after did. Subsequently the works of Theodore Parker, furnished him as he informed me, by his friend and law-partner, William H. Herndon, became naturally the topics of conversation with us; and though far from believing there was harmony of views on his part with either of these authors, yet they were generally much admired and approved by him.

"No religious views with him seemed to find any favor except of practical and rationalistic order; and if, from my recollection on the subject, I was called upon to designate an author whose views most nearly resembled Mr. Lincoln's on the subject, I would say that author was Theodore Parker."

"The last witness to testify before this case is submitted to the reader is no less a person than Mrs. Lincoln herself. In a statement at a time and under circumstances detailed in a subsequent chapter," says Mr. Herndon in his work on Lincoln, "she said this:"

'Mr. Lincoln had no faith and no hope in the usual acceptation of those words. He never joined a church; but still, as I believe, he was a religious man by nature. He first seemed to think about the subject when our boy Willie died, and then more than ever about the time he went to Gettysburg; but it was a kind of poetry in his nature, and he was never a technical Christian.

I now give what Mr. Herndon has stated in his conclusion upon Mr. Lincoln's belief, which is a brief summary of what he understood his religious belief to be; after which, I shall conclude with the statement of a Baptist minister, which has lately come to my knowledge from another source, and then I am done with this subject.

"No man had a stronger or firmer faith in Providence—God—than Mr. Lincoln, but the continued use by him late in life of the word God must not be interpreted to mean that he believed in a personal God. In 1854 he asked me to erase the Word God from a speech which I had written and read to him for criticism because my language indicated a personal God, whereas he insisted no such personality ever existed.

"My own testimony, however, in regard to Mr. Lincoln's religious views may invite discussion. The world has always insisted on making an orthodox Christian of him, and to analyze his sayings or sound his beliefs is best to break the idol. It only re-

mains to say that, whether orthodox or not, he believed in God and immortality; and even if he questioned the existence of future eternal punishment he hoped to find a rest from trouble and a heaven beyond the grave. If at anytime in his life he was skeptical of the divine origin of the Bible he ought not for that reason to be condemed; for he accepted the practical precepts of that great book as binding alike upon his head and conscience. The benevolence of his impulses, the seriousness of his convictions, and the nobility of his character are evidences unimpeachable that his soul was ever filled with the exalted purity and sublime faith of natural religion."

I give in closing this account of the different ones who have given their opinions concerning Mr. Lincoln's religious views and his estimate of the Bible, the first paragraph of a letter from Rev. James Lemen to his son Dr. Moses P. Lemen of DuQuoin, Illinois, relative to some things about Mr. Douglas and incidentally about Mr. Lincoln in connection with the religious views and opinions of the former: "My dear son:

I am pleased to learn that you are studying Senator Stephen A. Douglas' life history, as he was not only a remarkable man, but was a very warm friend to me. I was thrown with him and Abraham Lincoln a great deal in Springfield and elsewhere, and each was a very near and dear friend of mine.

As to Abraham Lincoln, I was his confidential religious adviser for many years, and was one of the only two ministers who ever heard him pray, and I now have a copy of one of his most beautiful prayers. Lincoln's temperament and moods inclined him more to religious matters, but Douglas as I know from his own expressions, was a firm believer in the Christian religion and the divinity of the Scriptures; but he was not a sectarian." Quoted from Mr. Stevens' Life of Douglas, Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Nos. 3-4, page 655.







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